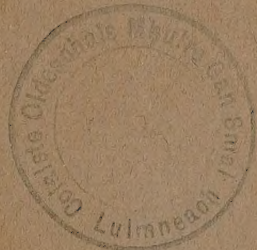
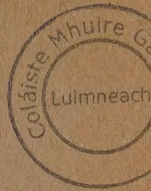
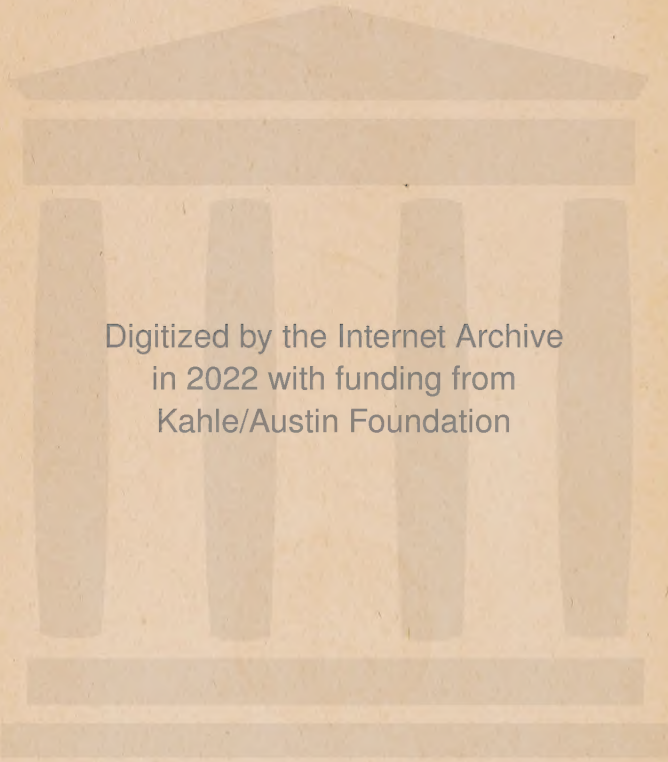


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Studies in the History of Classical Teaching

IRISH AND CONTINENTAL

1500—1700

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The preparation of the first part of this volume was, rendered possible for the writer by the discovery at Madrid, in 1907, of a complete copy of the *Janua Linguarum*, issued in 1611 at Salamanca by the Irish Jesuits who then directed the College of their nation in that University. Expectation of such good fortune had scarcely existed, in face of the positive assertion of Hervas, made about 1700, that only two copies of the original text were known to exist.

The loan of this Madrid copy has provided a sure basis for comparative research into its history and influence as a schoolbook, and the part it played in the history of educational reforms during the century in which it was published. The original preface would alone have sufficed to found a claim on behalf of William Bathe for a place among the more valuable and practical writers on the practice of education. Among such authors, Ascham holds a distinctive and honourable place. Bathe would seem to have as much title to recognition in the History of Education as his predecessor among the instructors of Queen Elizabeth.

The investigation of the varied fortunes of this Irish *Janua Linguarum*, and of the many changes it underwent,

was carried on by the writer at the British Museum, at the Bodleian Library, in the Libraries of the Universities of Dublin and of Louvain, at intervals during the four years since the Madrid copy was placed at his disposal. The arid work of bibliographical research was greatly lightened for him by the help afforded by the members of the staffs of these libraries, and by those in charge of Marsh's Library, Dublin.

Any account of the personal history of William Bathe and his associates must be based on the materials collected by the Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J., D.Litt., in his *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, and in his papers on special topics in Irish biography. Some few points have been cleared up from sources which have become available since the publication of Dr. Hogan's work in 1895. For much valuable help the writer has been constantly indebted to him in this portion of his undertaking.

The chapters forming the second and more general portion of this volume have been written in the hope of making the History of Education a more useful part of the professional study of the subject, by bringing it into definite connection with the work of the class-room. They are based on a number of writers of the 16th and 17th centuries who seem to have kept steadily in view the concrete problems which confront the teacher. It has been borne in mind throughout that the History of Educational Practice is not a mere province of antiquarian or literary investigation, but a department valuable in proportion as it can throw light on the controversies of to-day. For

PREFATORY NOTE

v.

this purpose the reprint of the Preface and of a considerable portion of the text of Bathe's work may prove to be of some use. Material is also provided for a comparison between his book and the later volume of Comenius.

St. Ignatius' Hall, Dublin,

August, 1911.



CONTENTS.

	Page.
Introduction	ix.

PART I.

WILLIAM BATHE, S.J., OF DUBLIN (1564—1614), AND HIS METHOD OF LANGUAGE-TEACHING.

Chapter.

I. The Author of the <i>Janua Linguarum</i>	1
II. Collaborators on the <i>Janua</i>	14
III. William Bathe at Salamanca.....	25
IV. The Plan and its Critics.....	35
V. The Preface to the <i>Janua Linguarum</i>	54
<i>Note to Chapter V</i>	72
VI. The German Editions of the <i>Janua Linguarum</i> ..	76
VII. English Editions of the <i>Janua</i> , 1615—1645.....	87
VIII. The Portuguese Edition of the <i>Janua</i>	107
IX. Italian Editions of the <i>Janua</i> (1628—1684).....	115

PART II.

THE PRACTICE OF CLASSICAL TEACHING IN THE POST- RENAISSANCE PERIOD.

X. The Practice of Composition.....	133
XI. The Reading of Authors.....	156
XII. Grammatical Studies	178
XIII. The Position of Greek.....	198
XIV. Classics and the Vernacular.....	212
XV. School-Practice in the Seventeenth Century.....	229

APPENDICES.

	Page.
I. A Biographical Article on William Bathe (published 1694)	249
II. Family Connections of William Bathe.....	255
III. Comenius's References to Bathe.....	256
IV. Representative Sentences from the <i>Janua</i> of Comenius (1631)	262
V. Text of the Preface to the <i>Janua</i> of 1611.....	266
VI. "Moral Sentences" of Bathe's <i>Janua Linguarum</i>	283

INTRODUCTION.

The main purpose of this volume is to set forth, with adequate proof, the position in the History of Education which may fairly be claimed for an Irish writer and his work. Published exactly three hundred years ago from an Irish College incorporated in the University of Salamanca, the *Janua Linguarum* of William Bathe provided a distinctive and systematic language method which for over a century afterwards was widely employed in the secondary schools of England, Germany, and Southern Europe. It was not a mere school-book: in its prefatory Tractate the principles of economic effort in school-work were definitely formulated, and the subjoined text was offered as a specimen constructed on the lines suggested by Bathe as being capable of universal application. The Irish *Janua* preceded by twenty years the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* of Comenius. The latter work is probably the most celebrated text-book in modern educational history. It will be shown in detail that it is but a variant on the treatise of Bathe, and that though it attained a far more prominent position, several German scholars of note in the seventeenth century held it to be distinctly inferior, alike in construction and in style, to the earlier work on which Irishmen alone collaborated.

As illustrating the religious, political, and educational questions of his day, and also the relations existing between Ireland, England, and Spain, the story of William Bathe's career presents many points of interest. But in a work dealing primarily with educational issues of the more strictly academic type, many of these topics can only be alluded to: minute treatment of them would be out of place.

It may be noticed, however, that besides his claims to be a pioneer in language-method, Bathe has two other titles to a distinctive position in the History of Education. The first of these was won at Oxford, in Dublin, and at the Court of Queen Elizabeth. That he was the first to publish in the English tongue a treatise on the method of teaching music is now admitted by all authorities on this branch of education. It need hardly be said that the music in question was "the Plaine Song." Like his later publication on language-teaching, the two books he composed on musical education contain much that is essentially of his own devising. In each case, however, what is personal in his method remains in close and vivifying contact with the main stream of educational practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unlike the educational theorists of those and of later times, he did not see any necessity for revolutionising the processes of instruction then in common use. He had the more modest and more efficacious purpose of introducing supplemental helps and reforms. Bathe issued two separate treatises on the teaching of music. The later edition was a considerable advance on the lines tentatively indicated in the earlier

work; but it did not depart from his well-devised principles. Comenius published two editions of his new method of learning languages. The earlier and better-known *Janua Linguarum Reserata* he proclaimed to be a work imperatively needed by all schools, and to be based on immovable didactic laws. The latter model was avowedly constructed to replace the first, now expressly repudiated as wrong in plan and in details. The grounds for this rejection are noteworthy. Comenius, in pronouncing sentence on his earlier effort, makes no appeal to experience, but proceeds on logical and transcendental grounds to upset his own *immotae leges didacticae*. He had constructed the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* from sentences alone: even an index of words he considered superfluous. Twenty years later he made the discovery that as words are the crude material of sentences, they must be thoroughly mastered before the sentences are even read. So to the later *Janua* he prefixed an exhaustive alphabetical Lexicon, to be learned by heart by the beginner in Latin.

There is no need to point out how all this is essentially unpractical and destructive of education. It is on a level with the methods employed by Comenius himself in his *Great Didactic*, a work which manages to combine much baseless argumentation with some conclusions that are correct because they are inconsequent. Quite different were the lines of action laid down for himself by his Irish predecessor. At every stage of his educational work the appeal to successful practice is made, and the scope and use of his plans are accurately delimited. He is not out

of touch with the best which the methods in use at Oxford, in Flanders, in Milan, at Salamanca had produced. His mission of help is announced in modest fashion; he is no revolutionary under the guise of a reformer, and the extravagant estimates of the value of method, frequently made by Comenius, are absent from his pages.

To another and even more important aspect of the educational career of William Bathe, attention may here be directed, more particularly because it can enter but slightly into the following chapters. At the time at which he wrote and otherwise personally worked at Salamanca, ethical purpose was still dominant in public education. Opinions may differ as to the relative importance of intellect and of will in abstract philosophy; but there can be no question of the supremacy of volitional culture in the true art of science of education. A great deal of modern educational "progress," alike in the old world and in the new, has had for its inevitable product a monstrous combination of intellectual acuteness and moral imbecility. Where the ethical purpose has not been completely ignored, an attempt has often been made to develop for school-use an "independent" morality, chiefly remarkable because it cannot be depended upon. The hollowness of educational theories which would dispense with religion as if they were superior to its aid, whose very definitions make a virtue of the absence of distinctive religious appeal and sanction, is now being found out. These great fallacies had not made their appearance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Throughout Europe, North and South alike, education was still a work

compenetrated by religious interests, and so touching the vital issues of the day at every point. Intellectual development was not an end in itself; it was vivified and elevated by religious purpose. Here Bathe and Comenius meet in the domain of education, though they came from opposite camps, and are dominated by interests which are alike not specifically, but only generically. The training of the young in effective morality is the object of every line of the text of the Irish *Janua Linguarum*: that it was not a mere expression of what he conceived to be proper, is shown by the work its author carried on at Salamanca from 1605 to his death in 1614. His unwearying efforts to direct students' lives to nobler ends than mere intellectual sharpness of vision had a great measure of success. For the individual side of their ethical formation he adopted the plan of securing them, at intervals, one whole day to be spent in exclusive attention to the great truths of the origin, the method, and the purpose of human life. The *secessus unius diei* is advocated more than twenty times over in the volume composed by William Bathe on spiritual exercises, published at Milan in the year in which he died, and reproduced in a Latin translation made a few years later for use in the University of Ingolstadt. The value of this special method in ethical training, as used by Bathe at Salamanca, was known to and appreciated by St. Francis of Sales in 1609: his information on this question came from the celebrated Antoine Possevin. To the social side of moral education at Salamanca, Bathe devoted particular attention: he was no believer in a purely individualist type of

culture. It is noteworthy that the organisation be established to give an opportunity for social service on definitely religious lines, maintained a useful existence for over a hundred years after his death: in securing personal relations between University students and the poor of the city of Salamanca, it provided for a work which in the shape of University Settlements has made a tardy reappearance in England after three centuries marked by selfish indifference and neglect.

The author of the Irish *Janua Linguarum* was thus no theorist or mere writer of school books: the educative work he specially devoted himself to called for constant and careful personal effort. The pithy moral sentences which are the substance of his language method reflect in a striking way the lessons he must often have driven home in personal talk with the students of Salamanca, whether of high or of low degree. Fact-knowledge of the 'useful information' type, such as Comenius provided in his similar work, was to Bathe's mind not the best material for an initial method in teaching. By his insistence on the value of ethical thought, he rightly separates himself from the aberrations of educational controversy in the seventeenth century, disputes which have been dished up again in recent years, to the detriment of the true History of Education. It is idle to institute a contrast between realism and formalism, between things and words, if the subordination of both elements to thought is left out of sight. Moreover, unless from the very beginning of education this ethical framework of what is learnt serves to give coherence to things and words alike, the process

will be largely a failure. Mere allusions to moral issues, whether in preface or in conclusion, will not suffice: these issues must be interlaced with the whole texture and subject-matter of instruction. It should be realised, as thoroughly as it was in the past, that ethical concepts, and not the merely physical objects of sense-perception, are the real 'things' in education; and that to these concepts both words and external nature are inferior, not only in degree, but in kind.

The second portion of this work is devoted to a survey of language-teaching in the period connected with the work of Bathe and of Comenius. Without some consideration of contemporary educational practice, any consideration of a special method advocated by either of them, would be largely futile. In current Histories of Education the theorists and their more or less revolutionary conjectures occupy an altogether disproportionate amount of space, and are presumed to have influenced actual education to a marked degree. The result is a type of history which is utterly divorced from reality. To give space to such non-educators as Montaigne and Locke, Rabelais and Bacon, the writings of competent observers have been thrust aside as of no account. Some attempt has been made to reverse this practice in the chapters devoted to an exposition of language teaching as carried on during the Post-Renaissance period, when the basis and method of instruction was still common to the whole of Western Europe. It would have been possible to deal with this important subject by collecting information on the details of school-work, grouped so as to secure completeness of

presentation. Such a scheme of the processes of instruction would give a result valuable in itself, but lacking the element of direct contemporary criticism. This is best secured by a representative selection of writers on education, one which would furnish information and commentary on existing educational practice. These authorities were chosen who seemed to be most nearly in contact with the schools of their time, while sufficiently independent to be able to see that the actual is not necessarily the ideal. The result has been some indication that between 1500 and 1700 there was not much variation in either the methods or the purpose of education, while its subject-matter remained almost entirely linguistic. Education through Latin and Greek tends of late to be done at what may be termed a low potential. Reading of authors, accumulation of facts on history, archaeology, philology, persistent memorising of the views of eminent scholars on questions of grammar, textual criticism, variant dates and theories, all represent work of a devitalised kind, absorption rather than assimilation, storage but not use, inactive retention instead of mastery issuing into personal handling. The older methods subordinated receptivity to expression: all reading and erudition led up to writing and declamation, individual exposition of views, combined with controversy, discussion, disputation. There was less of fact-knowledge involved in the educative discipline; but far more attention was paid then than now to the energetic and effective grouping and use of facts through generalised statements. The object of language-study was universally understood

to be self-expression, and the exercises which were requisite therefor were essentially active and personal. The thought-content involved in such exercises had then to be attended to no less than the verbal forms which conveyed it. At present, whether the methods employed are the "old" or the "new," the opinions enunciated in the process of composition are held to be of small importance. In the case of the ancient languages they are in no sense personal to the learner, and their actual drift is a matter of indifference. In the modern languages the ethical bearing of subjects so dealt with is often utterly insignificant and trivial.

It was otherwise even as regards secondary school-work in the centuries when Latin was still the vehicle of learning in Europe. The scrutiny of opinions held by ancient writers is now regarded as appropriate only to the specialist and the advanced University student: it was then the duty of teacher and of scholars at a much earlier stage. The ethical commentary on Cicero and Horace was then the chief care of editors: now it is meted out perfunctory and casual treatment, submerged in varied erudition. Direct and effective moral instruction was then given through classical reading and writing: to-day the combination is almost unheard of. The disappearance of such teaching is largely the result of an examination system tending to set value on the fact that can be rapidly and almost mechanically appraised, rather than on the expression of personal thought and judgment, eluding valuation because necessarily imperfect and immature. As a consequence all education tends to become intellectual, not

volitional, save in as far as the will to exert the intellect is present. Incidental handling of ethical questions was constant in the past, though historians of education have long since fixed on classical education the qualification of verbalism or formalism. The contrast between these pedagogic vices and modern educational realism is utterly fallacious. Both extremes are futilities, unless real ethical values are associated with the subject-matter of instruction. Where they are so present, any type of knowledge can be handled so as to afford 'humane' instruction: letters, sciences, arts, can, if so treated, educate for life, alike in the noblest and in the commonplace meaning of the term. In the realm of education, knowledge-mongering divorced from informing morality is the veriest dust of chaff.

An examination of typical portions of the Irish *Janua Linguarum* will show that its *sententiae morales* were in far closer conformity to true educational ideals than were the later if better known *sententiae reales* of Comenius. The former aimed at conveying sound ethical principles through words complete, but not encyclopædic in their range: the latter offered a systematised vocabulary for natural objects. It will be easy to form a judgment as to which of the two recedes from true reality into the dreary waste of mere verbal knowledge.

PART I.

WILLIAM BATHE, S.J., OF DUBLIN,

(1564—1614)

and

HIS METHOD OF LANGUAGE
TEACHING.

ELEGANS INVENTIO JANUAE
LINGUARUM HIBERNICA.

—COMENIUS.

WILLIAM BATHE, S.J., OF DUBLIN
(1564—1614)

and

His Method of Language Teaching.

CHAPTER I.

The Author of the *Janua Linguarum*.

THE family to which William Bathe belonged was one of Norman origin, which with many others settled on Irish soil during the period 1170 to 1300 A.D., and had come by the sixteenth century to be known as of the “ Old English ” in Ireland. The main settlement of Anglo-Normans in Ireland was in Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Louth counties: here they had, as protection against the “ meere Irish,” the presence of the Viceroy and the garrison in Dublin. In most of the other districts in Ireland where Norman settlements were made, the “ Old English ” had come to throw in their lot with the Irish among whom they lived. But around Dublin this assimilating influence did not act so powerfully: the “ Irish enemies ”

were too actively hostile in the hill country of Dublin and Wicklow, in the marshes of Kildare, and in the passes north of Dundalk, to be able to affect deeply the manners and customs of the settlers on the broad plains around the lower reaches of the Liffey and the Boyne. Here the Anglo-Norman lords and gentlemen dwelt in their many castles, and suffered, with more or less patience, the raids of the Irish within the limits fixed by the Pale, a veritable barrier of defence erected at the close of the fifteenth century. The government of the country, civil and ecclesiastical, was largely theirs till the days of the religious revolt under Henry VIII. Even after the coming of the "New English" under Elizabeth, the landed gentry of the Pale, overwhelmingly Catholic still, retained their hold on the civil administration to a very large extent. The de Bathe family was one of considerable note among the lords of the soil, the gentlemen of the robe, and the merchant-princes of Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk, chief walled cities of the Pale.

With both the land and the law, William Bathe, born in Dublin city on Easter Sunday, April 2, 1564, was closely connected. His grandfather had been Chief Baron of the Exchequer for nearly thirty years, and died in possession of that high judicial office in 1570. His father, John Bathe, was also trained to the law, and under Elizabeth, was successively Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland. He possessed considerable landed property north and south of Dublin city, notably Drumcondra, Glasnevin, Clonmell, Nanger, and Balgriffin. By 1560, John Bathe married Eleanor

Preston, daughter of Jenico Preston, third Viscount Gormanston. She was grand-daughter of Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland, whose name stands first on the list of illustrious dead that rest in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, within the precincts of the Tower of London. John Bathe and his wife erected in 1560 the Castle of Drumcondra, as the inscription still preserved in the basement vaults records. To this property, and to several other manors in the county of Dublin, William Bathe, their eldest son, was heir. There was scarcely an illustrious family in Ireland, whether Celtic or Norman, with which he was not connected either by blood or by intermarriage; the list contains alike such names as Netterville, Slane, Howth, Roscommon on the one side, and O'Connor of Offaly, O'Carroll of Ely, O'Donnell of Tyrconnell on the other.

The early years of this wealthy young "gentleman of the Pale," and the places where they were spent, are on record in the entry-book of the Jesuit Novitiate at Tournai. All such entries are in the writing of the candidate, and accordingly we can take as exact what William Bathe there states about himself. "I have studied humanities in Ireland, philosophy at Oxford and Louvain, and theology at Louvain."

Of the period of Bathe's studies in Ireland we have no detailed record. But since 1560 there had been in Dublin considerable activity in the promotion of liberal studies, with a view to setting on a good footing the projected University, which all parties in Ireland desired to further. When William Bathe was five years old, James Stanihurst,

Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, was active in the cause, and brought over from Oxford its foremost humanist, Edmund Campion, to be head of the new University. Though the plan was favoured by the Irish Government of the day, it was not found convenient for English policy, and soon Campion, accused of being a Catholic, had to go into hiding in the country-houses of several of the gentlemen of the Pale. On his departure for England in 1571 the project fell through for the time. A subsequent attempt to annex the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral as a fund for the proposed University, did not succeed: and it was not till William Bathe had left Ireland for the last time that Trinity College, Dublin was created by charter from Queen Elizabeth. From among its first scholars Bathe was to derive considerable assistance in later years, towards his projected Language-method.

About 1580, or a little later, the son and heir of the Irish Attorney-General proceeded to Oxford. Antony à Wood is our authority for his career there, which he describes in the language of the day, as follows: "(he) studied several years in this University with indefatigable industry." The author of *Athenae Oxonienses* confesses that he did not find any record of his name in those houses frequented "by Irishmen of his time," University College, Hart Hall, and Gloster Hall. Nor could he find his name among those who proceeded to a degree. Fuller investigation has in recent years established that Bathe was a member of St. John's College.¹ William Bathe was thus made one of the same society as Edmund Campion had

¹ Foster, *Memorials of the University of Oxford*, 1891: Vol. I., p. 86.

belonged to: and a connection between Campion's visit to Dublin twelve years before, and this choice of a college, is quite probable. John Bathe, like the Stanihursts, was a staunch Catholic, despite his high rank in the Queen's administration: both families were interested in the maintenance of Catholic influence on University life, whether in being at Oxford, or merely hoped for in Dublin. An examination of Campion's brilliant record at Oxford serves also to throw light on the absence of William Bathe's name from the list of graduates. Campion had been nominated a Junior Fellow of St. John's in 1557, by the founder, Sir Thomas White, whose special friend he was. He was of course a Catholic, but when for the first time the oath of supremacy was tendered to him as he was proceeding M.A. in 1564, he wavered, and finally he took it, confessedly doing violence to his conscience. The glamour of University life was too great for him, he could not abandon the brilliant opportunities that the next few years were to bring him, the favour and notice of great noblemen, of the court, of the Queen herself. The Campion who came to Ireland in 1569 was a different man: and when soon after 1580 young Bathe in due time proceeded to St. John's, all Oxford and all England knew of the daring directness of policy, the steadfast adherence to his faith, the heroic death of the martyr who had been the most conspicuous of Oxford scholars but a few years before. Living where Campion had lived, a lover of the classics even as he had been, the young Irish student was not likely to waver as the young Englishman had done twenty years earlier. So he left Oxford without that

official recognition of his academic studies which would have involved the denial of his religious belief.

During his residence at Oxford Bathe did more than devote himself to the study of humanity and philosophy. He had begun his career as a deviser of methods, and had given the world the first fruits of his inventiveness in a musical treatise, published in London, 1584, and dedicated to his grand-uncle, Gerald Fitzgerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare. The Earl was that one among all the sons of his house who had escaped the axe on Tower Hill under Henry VIII., only to die within the Tower itself, in 1585, after five years' imprisonment under Elizabeth. The centuries of hardship had fully begun both for the "old English" and for the "meere Irish" in Ireland.

Though they present analogies with his inventions in language method, the musical publications of William Bathe do not require independent treatment here: it will be sufficient to note here how these tastes opened up a path for him as a courtier. Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy of Ireland, reputed a close relation of the Queen, was interested in music, and in the then idea of an Irish University. That he knew of the young Oxford student's musical methods we know from the introduction to one of Bathe's treatises; and he seems to have recommended him to the Queen before his own removal from the Irish government in 1588. Of his success at court the calendars of State Papers afford ample testimony. Burghley is told by a correspondent of how young Bathe had made "a late device of a new harp, which he presented to her Majesty"; the Irish courtier also found means to interest the Queen

in “mnemonics,” and pleased her by his skill as a player on various instruments. Her favour is shown by at least three grants of lands to “William Bathe, of Drumcondra,” in 1587 and 1589. One secured him in such lands as his father had held on lease from the Crown: the other two were apparently new grants, amounting to an annual value of some £600 a year, as it would be reckoned to-day. At this period he appears to have lived almost entirely in London, though doubtless the death of his father in 1586 recalled him to Ireland. He seems to have attended Perrott on his melancholy journey to England in 1588, which was to lead only to the Tower and to death.

The young courtier and scholar found himself, soon after attaining his majority, his own master, the owner of fine properties, and in a position, by family connections and the favour of those in power, to aim at high office. But he was a Catholic, and a serious-minded one. We know that with Parsons’ *Christian Directory*, then recently published, he was well acquainted: he has left it on record that to his own knowledge no book on spiritual subjects had exercised so profound an influence in England and in Ireland as had this one volume, whose English style was much later to be so highly commended by Swift. Bathe had also seen the proud array of the English fleet in the Thames in 1588, laden with the spoils of the Armada; and he had at once said that he would “prefer to spend his life in some retired corner of a Catholic country . . . than to live thoughtlessly amid such scenes.” This independent account of his views is confirmed fully by à Wood’s summary of his change of life subsequent to his Oxford

period. "Afterwards, under pretence of being weary with the heresy professed in England (as he usually called it) he left the nation."

This abandonment of the bright prospects before him in Ireland and in England alike, was made before the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam wrote to Burghley, December 2, 1591, of William Bathe, a "gentleman of the Pale, known to your Lordship for his skill in music," having "lately gone into Spain." He does not appear to have remained very long in the Peninsula, and by his own account written at Tournai in 1595—96, he would seem to have spent three of the four years, intervening between 1591 and 1595, in the study of philosophy and theology at Louvain. That famous University town, the rival of Oxford in the scholastic world of Northern Europe, counted among its students at the time a large number of Irish and English Catholics: its importance as a centre of humanistic studies and of theological controversy stood highest perhaps at the close of the sixteenth and the opening of the seventeenth century, the period of Lipsius, le Bay, and Jansen. The famous *Collegium trilingue*, founded in 1517, would alone have sufficed to attract Bathe, already proficient in "the three learned tongues." The influence of Justus Lipsius, unquestionably the foremost classical scholar of the time in Europe, was so great at Louvain that we need not be surprised at the high praise Bathe accords to the proficiency of Belgian speakers of Latin.

While Bathe had by this second period of University work shown a definite inclination to take holy orders, we know from his colleague in Spain, Father Paul Sherlock,

that he had also made up his mind to enter religion. The contemplative life of the Carthusians, and the austerity and missionary zeal of the Capuchins seem to have attracted him, but his decisive action was delayed till the summer of 1595, when he applied to Courtrai for admission to the Jesuit noviceship. He entered it at Tournai in the autumn of the same year, at the age of 31. Entering at so mature age, with a good part of his professional course completed, he was immediately after the two years of probation sent to St. Omers, and later to Padua, to complete his studies in philosophy and theology in the great Jesuit College there. Here he was ordained priest in 1601 or 1602.

A worker of such fine qualities was certain to be demanded at once for the arduous and often delicate work of the Irish mission. For a moment it appeared as if the hope of the Jesuits working in Ireland was to be at once realised. The long war which was being waged by O'Neill and O'Donnell in Ireland against Elizabeth had by 1601 reached a point calling for the active intervention of the Roman and Spanish Courts, if the succession to the English Crown was to be secured for the right side. The Pope made Louis Mansoni his Apostolic Legate to Ireland, directing him to proceed to Spain, and thence, with the forces of Philip III., to Ireland. Father Bathe was on May 1, 1601, designated to be companion and adviser to the Legate. Knowledge of the English Court, as well as his connections by family ties with the old English and the Celtic houses in Ireland, were obviously the determining motives in this choice. Appointed to this

important trust, it is no wonder to hear of Bathe, at Milan towards the close of 1602, as engaged in much correspondence with Robert Parsons: such is the report of one of Cecil's spies. The Nuncio's adviser drew up in that year two very full reports on the conditions of successful intervention in Ireland, and the state of parties there: within a short time both Mansoni and Bathe were in Spain. At the Court at Valladolid there was much talk of an expedition on a large scale to Ireland, and hopes of its despatch were entertained by the Nuncio and by the Irish agents, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Fr. James Archer, and Fr. Florence Conry. But the death of Elizabeth led to a cessation of hostilities. With James I. a state of war could barely be said to exist: and before long all hopes of an expedition were abandoned. Neither Mansoni nor his adviser ever reached Ireland: the next Roman envoy was to be sent to the Irish Confederation, during the Puritan Revolution, forty years later.

It was long before the Jesuit Superior in Ireland, Christopher Holywood, sometime of Artane Castle, realised that there was little prospect of his having the services of William Bathe at home. "*Mr. Gulielmus nondum advenit*," he writes to Rome in April, 1604: and later in the year a Roman document states the reasons for his being retained in Spain, and shows the opinion that the Nuncio Mansoni had formed about him. It says:—

“Fr. W. Bathe has often been asked for by the Irish mission, and it is unquestionable that his services there would be of the highest value. But as he has remarkable gifts in the direction of deepening the

spiritual life of his religious brethren and of lay people, Fr. Mansoni rightly points out that he should be sent to Lisbon, to join the staff of the Irish College there, to aid in introducing the new rules and in the spiritual formation of the students. He has already gone there. Once things are going well in the college, he may be told off for Ireland."

The years went by, however, and William Bathe was not to see his native land again. As late as 1606, Fr. Holywood still had hopes, even if they were slight: writing to Belgium in the June of that year, he remarks that they owe him Father Bathe.

By 1605 Bathe was on the staff of the Irish College, Salamanca, and he remained attached to it till his death in 1614. As we shall see in a later chapter, he did not spend all the time at Salamanca. In the spring of 1605 he was in Valladolid, during the final ratification of the peace between Spain and England. At times, again, he would be at Madrid. His younger brother was well known at the Spanish Court: and it was Didacus Munoz, Procurator of the Castilian Province of Bathe's Order, who undertook to see the *Janua Linguarum* through the Press in 1611.

A man with the life-story of William Bathe was not likely to be much troubled by the glamour even of the first Court in Europe. For years he had been acquainted with the brilliant circle that gathered round Elizabeth in the days of the Armada, when all at Westminster could note

“ Cecil's pale brow, and wisest Walsingham,
And Sidney's star, and Leicester's peacock pride”;

but all the glories of that scene he had calmly put from him. He was notable among those watched by Cecil's spies for long years after he had withdrawn to the Continent: the reports about him were written from Brussels, from Milan, from Corunna. In the year 1599, when as the rules of his Order required, he was divesting himself of all right to his manors in the county of Dublin, a document accusing him of secret correspondence with those consorted with "the arch-traitor, Tyrone," was thrown into Sir Robert Cecil's house at Whitehall.² Other such correspondence was suspected by the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam soon after William Bathe had left Ireland for Spain: and the month before Cecil received the anonymous accusation against him, the Lords Justices wrote to the Minister that they "verily thought . . . letters were conveyed from beyond the seas, from Mr. Bathe, now at Douai, and from Mr. Stanihurst."³ Within the last ten years of his life he had twice come in contact with members of English Embassies at Valladolid and at Madrid: and on each occasion his remarkable qualities were fully recognised. One such meeting brought about knowledge in England of his yet unpublished language method: the other led to its introduction into Italy. His mastery of Spanish, to judge from the record of his spiritual work at Salamanca and elsewhere, must have been thorough; yet his knowledge of the language must have been acquired in middle age. At the same period he was completing the *Jannua Linguarum*, and also a couple of treatises on

² State Papers, Ireland, Feb. 1598—9, p. 483.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

important aspects of missionary work: indeed the missionary purpose of the *Janua* was strongly emphasised by Bathe, just as it was hoped for by Comenius, author of a later and more famous, though not more effective “gate to languages.” But to none of these published works would he allow his name to be added. He looked to their practical usefulness, not to the personal credit to be derived from them.

He was but fifty years of age when death came. In the summer of 1614 he was called to the Spanish Court, then at Madrid, by the principal Ministers of the Crown: they desired to follow under his guidance the Spiritual Exercises—known to be a powerful means of moral upraising in his hands. When at the capital, he fell ill; and died, after seven days’ illness, on June 17 of that year. Antony à Wood did not share William Bathe’s views of things temporal and spiritual, yet he has recorded his opinion on this sometime member of his beloved University in words which may fittingly conclude this chapter. “He was endowed with a most ardent zeal for the obtaining of souls, and was beloved of and respected by many for his singular virtues and excellencies of good conditions.”

CHAPTER II.

Collaborators on the *Janua*.

THE *Janua Linguarum*, published on behalf of the Irish Jesuits at Salamanca in 1611, had by the eighteenth century become a very rare book. Hervas then declared that there were only two copies known to be in existence, one of which was in the Royal Library at Madrid. Nolte, writing in 1740, specially mentions it in his *Bibliotheca Latinitatis Restitutæ* as a book which is highly esteemed, but of which he had never been able to see a copy. The book and its contents were of course well known to the world of Latin scholarship by its numerous later editions outside Spain. None of these issues were complete, and several contained a text more or less substantially altered. Even of the first edition it would seem that there were two forms issued. One has 144 pages; a copy of it was examined and transcribed in the Roman College in 1864, by the Rev. Dr. E. Hogan, S.J.; the vocabulary, it would seem, was not bound into it. The complete first edition extends to 216 pages in the example of it kindly lent to me from the Library of the Jesuit Residence in Madrid. It has a paper cover only, which was put on it about the close of the 18th century. Besides the Introduction and its rendering into Spanish, the

printed matter, set before the Sentences constituting the *Janua Linguarum* proper, contains numerous commendations by Professors of the University of Salamanca, and by Jesuit teachers of long experience. These letters and testimonials bear dates ranging from October, 1608, to December, 1609: the Inquisition permit is dated July, 1610, and the list of errata on the last page was made in January, 1611. The last of these approbations is on page 5; on page 6 Padre Didacus Munoz tells the reader that he saw the volume through the press, as the Irish Jesuits of the College at Salamanca, who had composed it, were now either elsewhere, or else too busily engaged to allow of their undertaking the task. Seventeen pages of the Latin Preface and the Tractate on the *Janua* are followed by their Spanish translation, which ends on page 39. The Sentences, in Latin and Spanish, covers pages 42 to 139: the rest of the volume is the Index or Vocabulary, printed two columns to the page.

The *Janua Linguarum*, according to indications contained in the Introduction, would appear to have been about twenty years in preparation. The date when it was ready for publication would seem to be 1608, though, as will be pointed out later, the Sentences would seem to have been completed in manuscript form by the spring of 1605. In chapter 9 of the Introductory Tractate Bathe speaks of himself as having been greatly influenced to complete the work, by the representations of a Jesuit colleague of French nationality, whom he lived with at Padua, about 1600—1601. There, and in chapter 5, he clearly mentions himself as *inventor opificii*, or *artificii*: in chapter 4 he

terms himself also *vocabulorum selector*, and points to his teaching experience in Belgium as the basis on which he fixed what the range of words used should be. His times of sojourn in Belgium were about 1592—1595, at the University of Louvain, and the period 1595—1597, spent in the Jesuit noviceship and college at Tournay. Very possibly the idea of some such work had come to him before he had decided on leaving Ireland and England, to live in a Catholic country: the period of twenty years, if counted backwards from 1608 or 1605, would certainly involve this. And that his mind was occupied in a design of this kind would appear to be hinted in what Paul Sherlock wrote of his sojourn at the English Court, during the years 1586—1590: "When the Viceroy (Perrott) had some matters of importance to bring under the notice of Elizabeth, he chose Bathe for that mission, knowing that his youth would be a recommendation of which men of more mature years were destitute. Young Bathe became a great favourite with the Queen, whom he delighted by his wonderful skill in playing all kinds of musical instruments, *and amused by teaching her mnemonics.*"

The information we have as to Bathe's helpers in the composition of the *Janna Linguarum* is contained in Caspar Schoppe's preface to his issue of that work under the title of *Mercurius Quadrilinguis*, (Milan, 1637). It is as follows:—

"William Bathe, an Irishman of knight's rank, was a man of moderate attainments in scholarship, and was conspicuous for his virtues, his blameless and devoted life. But for penetrative power of mind, and

for his success in new designs, he was quite remarkable. His love and zeal for the Christian religion, his eager desire for its promotion among savage nations, and especially those of America, prompted him to a decision to form a plan and method, which would lessen and expedite the task of learning several native dialects for preaching of the Gospel, and would enable native races to acquire Latin. His first step was to make out, from Latin word-lists, a three-fold classification of terms. He described them respectively as (1) those in daily use, (2) those that are fundamental, (3) those that are unusual. . . . When he had listed some five thousand words in this fashion, he classified the whole into twelve centuries, and fitted the words into 1141 statements or sentences. This was done with exceptional labour on his own part and on that of those who were closely associated with him. Among these were his brother, John Bathe, a man of conspicuous merit and learning: he was known in the Spanish Court as *Don John of the powerful memory*. Another was a priest remarkable for virtue, an Irishman named Father Stephen. He was a theological professor later on for many years at Dilligen. With their assistance Bathe classified the vocabulary into the sentences. He saw that single words, though easily committed to memory, are with equal ease forgotten again. But if sentences are constructed from the words, our minds can the more readily grasp and retain their contents, because they now have two aids, memory and understanding."

Comenius, in the *Novissima Linguarum Methodus*¹ gives the same account, drawn from Schoppe's text, and thus based on the interview which Schoppe professed himself to have had with Fr. Bathe, just before the latter's death in 1614. Two of the collaborators thus admit of separate treatment, as they are mentioned by name: the others alluded to by Schoppe, are to be taken as the other Irish Jesuits who were on the staff of the Irish College, Salamanca, during Bathe's period of residence there, 1604—1608. It is noteworthy that both the title-page, and all the various commendations in the Salamanca edition, mention the "Irish Jesuits in the college of their nation at Salamanca" as having been collectively engaged on the work. They are the *cooperatores* mentioned in Chapter V. of the Introductory Tractate, and of them the plural verb—*decrevimus, censuimus, credidimus*—is frequently used. William Bathe is several times designated as the *inventor* or *vocabulorum selector*.

Of John Bathe, younger brother and heir to William, but little was till recently known, beyond the note about him furnished by Caspar Schoppe in the passage cited above. From it we may infer that he perhaps accompanied his elder brother to Spain in 1591—2, or that he was at the Court of Spain in 1603—1605, during the period when the Irish Nunciature was still in the balance. The latter period would seem the more likely, as it would afford greater opportunity of collaborating in the writing of the *Janua*. His elder brother would appear to have retained the legal ownership of his Dublin manors until December,

¹ 1648: Vol. II., p. 82 in Amsterdam folio, 1657.

1599, when he executed an assignment of them to his heir presumptive. At the same time, evidently by concerted arrangement, Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam assigned the manor of Balgriffin to William Bathe, and, in default of male heirs, to John Bathe, *now of Drumcondra*. The lands of Balgriffin had in 1534 been in possession of John Burnell, whose wife was daughter of the second Viscount Gormanston, William Bathe's great-grandfather. Like most of the estates associated with these families, they had been confiscated under the Acts of Attainder which followed the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgérald, Vice-Deputy of Ireland: he was great-uncle of William Bathe of Drumcondra. In 1605 John Bathe signed the Petition of the Catholic Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, declaring their loyalty to James I., and their detestation of Gunpowder Plot: the Petition had the extraordinary result of imprisonment within the Castle of Dublin for the chief signatories. In 1624, again, the Calendars of State Papers record that John Bathe of Drumcondra holds those lands, with Ballybough, as tenant-in-chief of the King, by tenure of knight-service. The Index to Prerogative Wills in Ireland shows that before his death in 1630 he had received knighthood: and it need scarcely be said that a Bathe of Drumcondra was among those "Old English of the Pale" named in the confiscation lists of 1641 and 1657. In the former year the lands were granted to James, Duke of York, then a mere child: the Puritan Commonwealth gave them to the Alderman Eccles, of Dublin, whose name is still borne by a street not far from Drumcondra and Ballybough. The Restoration would seem to have resulted in a

partial reversal of the Cromwellian policy in this case, as in most others: there was a "James Bathe of Drumcondra" as late as 1686.

Of the "Pater Stephanus, Hibernus," the only Jesuit expressly named as a collaborator with William Bathe, there is more to be said. The Salamanca lists make it quite clear that he was none other than Fr. Stephen White, a native of Clonmel, and by universal repute one of the most learned men of his time in Europe. On this it will suffice to cite the testimony of Ussher, who described him as "a man profoundly versed in the ancient records not of Ireland alone, but of other countries also."² He was one of several of his name and kin who helped to establish in the Peninsula, with the generous aid of the kings who reigned there, those Irish colleges that did so much for a country where political and religious oppression debarred the great mass of the people from education at home. By tradition the Whites were notable teachers: Antony à Wood has recorded of Dr. Peter White, a kinsman of Stephen, that "a happy schoolmaster of Munster, he devoted himself to his beloved faculty of pedagogy, which was then accounted a most excellent employment in Ireland by Irish Catholics." Stephen White, born in 1574, was just eighteen years of age when in 1592 a charter was issued by Elizabeth constituting a College of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, and giving it the status of a University. The document was carefully drawn so as to avoid any mention of religious tests, and according to Lombard³

² Ussher, *Primordia*, p. 400.

³ *Comment. de regno Hiberniae*, 1601, p. 124 of Cardinal Moran's edition.

many Catholic parents sent their sons there, only to withdraw them when the oath of supremacy was tendered as a condition of collegiate emoluments and degrees. The charter named, as the first scholars of the college, three students who are named therein; and one of the three was called Stephen White. The Rev. Dr. E. Hogan, S.J., has advanced many reasons which make it most probable that this Trinity Scholar was the same as the subsequent collaborator in the *Janua Linguarum*.⁴ His subsequent friendly relations with Primate Ussher, who was the second matriculated student of the college, would point to this identification: and it is known that many of the students withdrawn from Trinity College on religious grounds, proceeded to the Irish colleges which were being opened in Spain and Portugal from 1592 onwards. At Lisbon, Stephen White's kinsman, Fr. Thomas White, S.J., had just opened such a road to education; he was afterwards to found the more famous Irish College of Salamanca. Its first student who joined the Irish Jesuits was Stephen White. Entering the Order at Villagarcia in 1596, he rapidly concluded his studies, and that with a success proved by his being appointed in 1602 to lecture on philosophy at Salamanca. Till the close of 1605 he held that position, and so would have been one of the community which William Bathe joined in 1603 or 1604. Of Stephen White the domestic record says *plurimum profecit in litteris*, and so it was but natural that he should enter into the linguistic devices of the former student of Oxford. They parted company after a very few years, for

⁴ Waterford *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. III., 1897.

on January 7, 1606, Stephen White took up duty as Professor of Theology at Ingolstadt, and continued in such work there and at Dillingen for nearly twenty years. By Pont-a-mousson and Metz he drew nearer home in his middle age, and in 1629 or 1630 he reached Ireland. The work before him was clear to friend and foe alike. Bishop Bedell knew it when he wrote, "I know that his Holiness has created a new University at Dublin, to confront his Majesty's College there."⁵ The Jesuit University in Dublin, thus audaciously opened in Back Lane, lasted from 1627 to 1629: the end came in a public seizure of the place by the combined forces of the Castle, the Corporation, and Trinity College, which was granted the confiscated building, and was in 1635 using it as a University Hall⁶ Dr. Reeves has put on record a most interesting letter from Fr. Stephen White, S.J., written from Dublin on January 31, 1640, to his brother historian, Fr. John Colgan, O.S.F., at the Irish College of St. Antony, Louvain. It gives a full account of his recent interview with Primate Ussher, who also was deeply versed in Irish antiquities. The last years of Fr. White's long and fruitful life were spent in Galway, and there, while the Confederation still held sway over four-fifths of Ireland, he went to his reward. Of his writings there is no need to speak in detail here.

During the period when the *Janua Linguarum* was being completed at Salamanca, the Prefect of the Irish colleges directed by Irish Jesuits in Spain was Father James Archer, of Kilkenny (1550-1620). Like William Bathe,

⁵ Strafford Letters.

⁶ On this seizure see Mahaffy: *An Epoch in Irish History* (London, 1903), pp. 213-219.

he had entered the Society when about thirty-one years of age, and after years spent among the Irish clans, he was sent to Rome to plead the Irish cause in 1600. The appointment of Mansoni as Nuncio, and doubtless the nomination of William Bathe to be the Nuncio's travelling companion, were largely due to him. In 1601 he was back in southern Munster as chaplain to the Spanish commander in Ireland, Don Juan del Aguila, and on the disastrous failure of that expedition, he again made his escape to Spain. The secure foundation of the college at Salamanca was in the main due to James Archer. The bounty of Philip II. was supplemented by his exertions in Ireland, and some of his own colleagues even thought he favoured that one college overmuch. On the close of the war he was appointed to the general supervision of the Irish colleges in the Peninsula, a post he still held in 1617, when he was senior in years among his colleagues in Ireland and on the Continent. That he would have interested himself in William Bathe's *Janua* is not unlikely, for he was before all things full of missionary zeal, and at the same time was noted at Rome for his "proficiency in letters."

Finally may be mentioned Richard Conway, of New Ross, as another Irish Jesuit who was at Salamanca in the years 1603—1614. Born in 1572, he became a Jesuit in 1592, and he appears to have succeeded James Archer as Superior-General of the Irish Colleges. He became in 1622 first head of the new Irish College at Seville, and died there in 1626.

It is not unlikely that besides William Bathe himself, all the other Irish Jesuits named above had some share

in the work of preparing the *Janua*. No less than eight times, in the letters of permission and approval it contains, is its composition attributed to the staff of the college collectively: and no words, which clearly limit it to certain among them, are used. Comenius and his circle, in their numerous references to the work, whether in printed text or MSS., always speak of it as the work of the "Irish Fathers," or the "Irish Jesuits" of Salamanca. It is so described in the registered title-page of the English edition, as entered in the records of Stationers' Hall: and the whole drift of Bathe's Preface and Tractate would go to show that while he was the inventor and chief worker at the new plan, he was aided in the execution of it by all his colleagues at Salamanca.

CHAPTER III.

William Bathe at Salamanca.

THE first college founded on the Continent for Irish students, during the centuries of religious persecution, was the *Real Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses*, provided by King Philip II. in 1592, at the personal request of Father Thomas White of Clonmel (1558—1622). A kinsman of the *Pater Stephanus Hibernus*, who collaborated with William Bathe on the first *Janua Linguarum*, and of that Dr. Peter White, who was described by à Wood as “the happy schoolmaster of Munster,” Thomas White had for ten years before gathered round him at Valladolid the “poor scholars of his nation who were in great misery” there. Not yet a Jesuit, he at once enrolled himself in the Order on the foundation of the college, and so realised a hope of many years’ standing. The King was not content with granting a large sum of money, but also wrote in the August of 1592 to the Rector and Chancellor of Salamanca that letter which is rightly regarded as the Charter of the College; and this missive mentioned another as being directed in the same interest to the authorities of the city. Both were enjoined to see that the Irish students “get in that University the reception which they have reason to expect,” since “they have left their own country and all

they possessed in it, for the service of God our Lord, and for the Preservation of the Catholic Faith," and intend to return "to preach in that country, and suffer martyrdom if necessary."

The Irish College was at first housed in a private dwelling affording scanty room, but a more fitting domicile was provided for it in 1610, at the cost of the kingdom: at the same time the College was empowered to quarter on its own arms those of the Royal House. For the due foundation of the new institute, Father Archer laboured incessantly in Ireland, as did also Father White at Corunna, Bilbao, Lisbon, and Madrid. The close connection of Ireland with the northern coast line of Spain is shown by a remarkable indult of Pope Paul V. in 1606, empowering the fishermen of the Galicia and the Biscayan provinces to fish on six Sundays in the year, the proceeds to go to the support of the Irish Colleges then being organised under Father James Archer.

The constitutions of this College of St. Patrick at Salamanca were drawn up in 1604, the year in which probably William Bathe joined the staff: their chief provisions have been printed, from the Jesuit MSS., Ireland in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.¹ The College, as befitted its position in the University, did not offer a secondary education: every student was to be at least qualified so well in letters, as to be able to enter on the study of logic, and should also have completed his eighteenth year. Those admitted were to undertake to do

¹ 10th Report, Appendix V., p. 368 sq.

spiritual work in Ireland; and all were enjoined to pray daily for their country, for the preservation and development of the College, and especially for those of its students who had returned to the post of danger in Ireland. The missionary oath was to be taken some months after entry into the College, and contained a special invocation of the patron and guardian of them all, St. Patrick.

The course of studies for students of the Irish College covered the full period of seven years, three being given to Philosophy, and four to Theology. But there were in addition some special provisions as to the continuance, during all this period, of the study of literature, of exercises connected with it, and of the characteristic subject of music. Here evidently are to be seen the distinctive features of a scheme drawn up by such men as Stephen and Thomas White, James Archer, and William Bathe. The plan of studies they provided was not to be rigidly limited to subjects professional in their nature and purpose. They aimed at providing Ireland with a cultured clergy; and as former students of Oxford and Dublin Universities, well accustomed to the public life of the day, they were fully alive to the need and utility of such training. Archer, just appointed to the general directions of the Irish Colleges at Lisbon, Santiago, and Salamanca, was a missionary before all else. But he had taken his Master's Degree in Arts before entry into the religious life, and after acting as chaplain to "Tirone" at the Battle of the Yellow Ford, 1598, had converted the Earl of Ormonde, a prisoner in the power of O'More of Leix. Such were the men who prescribed that "all who

are admitted to the College should be careful to be present at all literary exercises, and derive from them the results which will later prove the very best use to themselves and to others." In this all diligence was to be shown. Latin was to be spoken at all times save those of recreation. Some time was to be given by each student every day to the study of music, and to Greek literature. In addition, the daily study of Hebrew was enjoined on students of Theology.²

The special reference to the cultivation of music we may safely put down to Bathe himself. The instruction of the Irish students in letters and in music was, as we know from Paul Sherlock's memoir written soon after 1614, in his hands: and doubtless the methods of musical instruction were those for which Bathe had attained repute at Oxford and Westminster some twenty years earlier.

The music which Bathe fostered, in Oxford, London, and Salamanca alike, was, in his own words, "upon the plain song." In his *History of Irish Music*³ Dr. Grattan Flood has rightly pointed out that Bathe was the author of the first book printed in England on musical theory: it might be added that both of his works on music were expressly designed—as was his later *Janua Linguarum* in another branch of study—to remove difficulties from the learner's path, and to cut short the tedious ways of customary instruction. The earliest of these two treatises was "set forth by William Bathe, student at Oxenford," and was published in London, 1584;

² Op. cit., pp. 368—369.

³ Dublin, 1905, pp. 161—165.

it was dedicated to his (grand) uncle, Gerald, Earl of Kildare. Its title was: *A Brief Introduction to the Art of Music*. A couple of years later, when he was no longer at Oxford, there was "set forth by William Bathe, gentleman," a thoroughly revised form of the earlier work, entitled: *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song, concerning the Practice*. It was printed in London, by Thomas Este; the date is given variously as 1600, by Dr Hogan; 1587, by Professor Foster Watson after Mr. R. R. Steele; 1585⁴, and 1596⁵ by Mr. E. C. Sayle.

The language of these Oxford title-pages and prefaces is in many ways much akin to the expressions used in the introductory treatise to the Salamanca *Janua*. Both aim at making the learner "by his own industry, shortly, easily, and regularly attain" a skill not otherwise to be acquired "without tedious and difficult practice, by means of the irregular order now in teaching." Examples of efficacy are cited, in the department of music, from children "brought before the Lord Deputy of Ireland, to be heard sing"; in languages, twenty years later, the children are tested at the Court of Spain.

But the good work done by William Bathe during the last ten years of his life, spent at Salamanca, was not limited to formal teaching in the Irish College. During his Theological course at Padua he had displayed that earnestness of apostolic spirit which led him to undertake the work of reform in prisons and hospitals, always seeking out the poorest and most neglected as the true subjects of

4 English Book-Prices, 1905, p. 494.

5 Early Printed Books at Cambridge, Vol. I., 1900, p. 323.

missionary zeal. The gifts of personal action and influence which Bathe then gave proof of were doubtless made known to the Nuncio Mansonì before he left Italy, and further observation would have obviously led to the advice he gave later on, that Father Bathe be retained in Spain, for the formation of the future workers in Ireland. The direct loss to Ireland, arising from his absence from the broad field of work there awaiting him, was certainly very great: the compensation he was able to make was as certainly greater and more far-reaching. That his work at Salamanca, among the Irish students, was ‘*ad formationem spiritus*,’ and that he had “a most ardent zeal for the obtaining of souls,” we know from Antony à Wood: the notices of his good works, furnished by those who observed them closely, fully confirm his statement. In his hands the Spiritual Exercises became a powerful weapon for the right ordering of action, in all classes of men and in all states of life. His activity in the prison of Salamanca would alone suffice to show what manner of man he was; he could point, had he so desired, to some three hundred criminals whom he had reformed there within a year from his arrival. To the prison mission he added labours of a most fruitful kind in the service of the poor. For their sake he set on foot an Association of Nobles, called the *Congregation of the Poor*. It was to assist them by religious instruction suited to their needs, and in this branch William Bathe was especially successful. But it was also to be a means of bringing temporal aid where it was needed. In this dual function it would seem to have been an anticipation of the great charitable work started

by Frederick Ozanam among his fellow-students at the University of Paris more than two hundred years later, and which was brought into Ireland by Newman's successor in Dublin. This enlisting of the services of University men and the notables of the University city, in the work of full social uplifting, was a great success under William Bathe's direction, and long after his death. The Congregation of the Poor was still flourishing in 1694, eighty years after he was called to his reward. To this his conspicuous personal sanctity and austerity of life must have contributed in an eminent degree.

This zeal for others' good beyond the walls of the Irish College he combined with such work within it as must have called out his mental gifts in a special way—the love of noble literature and the love of noble music were his from the days of his youth. Yet like all men of zeal, he and his Irish fellow-workers had trials to bear from those who were of their own household. Henry FitzSimon has recorded that Bathe was among the principal men who by their pains advanced the public good of their country to their greatest power, travelling for it *without all private and provincial respects*. The specific character of his testimony would go to show that accusations were made against Thomas White, James Archer, and their fellow-workers at Salamanca. Archer was in complete control of the Irish Colleges in the Peninsula: his record of long years spent with the Celtic chiefs during the great wars against Elizabeth, his unwearied labours in all parts of Ireland, should have saved him from the imputation of local partiality. But it was made under the names of the

great princes of the North, both then resident in Spain. Those administering the College were charged with unduly favouring the southern and 'schismatical' provinces of Ireland: and the charge was presented to the King by O'Sullivan Beare. It did not succeed; it was rather obviously the pen-work of one who had long sought to put his sickle into the harvest of the Irish Jesuits in their Spanish Colleges. It was Archer's policy to rely mainly on one great College, such as that in the suitable University centre of Salamanca, rather than on a multiplication of small and insufficiently-manned seminaries such as those at Evora, Seville, and Santiago. Events proved fully that he was right. The charges of provincialism and sectionalism in Irish affairs refute themselves in another way as well, and a quite effective one. All the papers on the native Celtic side throughout the seventeenth century—the Irish Franciscan Manuscripts are a special case in point—show on the side of the North a veritable morbidness of suspicion that all other provinces and parties were in constant combination against the men and the policies of Ulster. The allegation is so often made presumptively and in anticipation of any proof, that it must have come to be regarded as an empty common form.

An instance of this charge of provincialism, itself more probably a manifestation of provincialism, is on record as regards the Irish College of Salamanca in the year in which it entered into occupation of its permanent buildings. The anonymous tract, dated 1610, which makes the accusation, is entitled "Un razonamento hecho al Reyno

y Cortes de Espana en Madrid por dos Alunos Colegiales de Seminario Irlades de Salamanca"; it is stated to be the work of a scholar of the College.⁶ The accusation of undue favouring of the southern provinces of Ireland was here supplemented by the allegation that those in charge of the institution are not understood, and can but poorly write and speak in, the Irish tongue. Neither charge deserves much attention. The last man to allow provincialism to determine the policy of the admission of students would be an experienced missionary like Archer, who knew Northern Ireland and his chieftains well, and who had lived and worked with them for years. And once that the accusation of complete ignorance of the Irish language is seen to be carefully avoided, modern experience will enable us to heavily discount the charge on this head, a charge for which then, as now, was almost "common form," and made with such frequency and indifference to proof as must serve to deprive it of all real weight.

Annoyances such as this did not in any real sense hinder the great work done for faith and fatherland by the Irish College of St. Patrick at Salamanca. Within the first half of the seventeenth century it sent back to Ireland nearly four hundred men trained for missionary work, and graduates of one of the most famous European Universities. Of these no less than ten had already become Archbishops and Bishops in the Irish Church; nine were Provincials of Religious Orders, thirty were martyrs or confessors for the faith, and some forty were University

⁶ Uriarte: *Catalogo Razonado de Obras Anonimas y Seudonimas*, Madrid, 1904, Vol. II., p. 372.

Professors or Lecturers. The good work so well begun was continued by the Irish Jesuits down to the night on which, under Charles III., every Jesuit in Spain, without reason ever assigned, was arrested and deported out of the kingdom. Under other Irish direction it has maintained a useful career during nearly a century and a half, extending down to our own days: and there is every prospect of its happy continuance in the years to come.

CHAPTER IV.

The Plan and its Critics.

THE essential portion of Bathe's *Janua Linguarum* is of course the ordered collection of sentences, designed originally to be 1200 in number. In the Editio Princeps of 1611, however, those numbered 1042 to 1100 were omitted in the printing, though the numbers themselves are given. At the close of the *Centuriae*, as they are styled, is added an *Appendix de Ambiguis*, covering seven pages, in which the various meanings of some important nouns and verbs are distinguished by succinct definition. The last seventy pages of the complete edition consists of a full verbal index to the whole collection of sentences. It contains, as its title indicates, "all the fundamental Latin words in common use," and is stated to have been compiled from, among other sources, the well-known dictionary of Calepinus, so universally in scholastic use in the two centuries following its publication in 1510. Each Latin word in this simple but most effective index is followed by the number referring to the sentence in which it is used, and the Spanish translation is added. The total number of words in Bathe's sentences is about 5,300; it

may be noted that in the judgment of Comenius fifteen years later, the needful vocabulary extended to over 8000 words.

The chief characteristic of sentence arrangement in Bathe's *Janua* marks it off clearly from the plan followed by Comenius. In the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* the words are marshalled into sentences so arranged that all terms cognate in natural meaning come close together. The work of Comenius thus follows the arrangement of a modern classified phrase-book or a tourist's manual: a given group of sentences will contain a large number of related words, with just the minimum connection established between them. It is easy to understand, in view of this arrangement, why Comenius required the sentences of his book to be repeated by a class ten times within a year. His sentences convey practically no lesson beyond the meaning of each word, and the words themselves are frequently used to define each other. Bathe's plan is different. He endeavoured to secure that each century of sentences would centre around some generally-defined subject. Thus the first hundred sentences deal with morality under certain broad aspects of vice and virtue: the next hundred bear on prudence and imprudence; the third on temperance and intemperance; the fourth treats of justice and injustice; the fifth of fortitude and weakness. After thus considering the cardinal virtues and the opposed failings, the writer groups his "fundamental words" in the sixth century under the useful caption of "human activity," and follows it up with the equally comprehensive one of "peace and strife." The eighth

hundred brought under the scholastic distinction of "things with and without life," and the ninth is a collection dealing with arts and crafts. At this point any further attempt at classification is abandoned, and the sentences numbered 901 to 1041 are merely described as "treating of various subjects." Passing over the gap left by the omission of sentences 1042 to 1100, the final group, numbered 1101 to 1200, is constructed on a plan differing markedly from that of all those collections that precede it. Here the words used are stated to be those left over after the construction of sentences. By a remarkable effort at dexterity in composition, the words so set aside are welded into a narrative on the subject of jealousy and envy, extending to one hundred numbered clauses, and forming a "discursus" complete and well-ordered in itself. This portion of the work is far simpler and more effective than the independent sentences that immediately precede it, and would seem to have been a specimen of an improved model on which Bathe tried his hand with distinct success. By the choice of a main topic from the domain of general ethics he reverts to the plan of his own earlier sentences, while in effectiveness of structure the twelfth hundred is the best arranged and most easily remembered set of sentences in the whole work.

This alteration of method in the *Janua*, is one of several internal indications that besides Bathe himself, others among the Irish Jesuits at Salamanca had a share not only in the general planning, but in the detailed execution of the book. The divergence of views and its results are clearly set out in Chapter V. of the Introduction, which

deals with "the sentences, and the continuous narrative placed at the end." We are definitely told that "between the inventor and his fellow-workers in this plan, it was for long a debated point what would be the best method for welding the words together by means of sentences. At last it was decided that general maxims of morals should be determining factors as far as possible. This was kept to, up as far as the 500th sentence. Then, however, 'old age came on the vocabulary,' and further progress on such lines was stopped. The following centuries were grouped under titles otherwise chosen. The earlier collections among them have some sap and vigour, even in old age: the last hundreds we frankly admit to be quite decrepit. But as they are few in number compared with the main body of the work, the falling away may perhaps be pardoned by a kind reader." The last collection of words is formed into a continuous discourse, chiefly because it afforded a means of placing those phrases of transition which would be out of place among the simpler sentences of the earlier centuries. The task of writing this discourse was, we are told, found a very difficult one by the worker who undertook it. It contains two brief quotations from Horace and Ovid, as the only portions of classical Latin which afforded much direct help in completing it.

The great difficulty of consecutive composition at the close of the work arose from the type of words which had perforce to be then included in it. But the value of such a plan seems to have occurred also to the writers of the initial parts of the book. The sentences numbered 71 to 76 of the earliest group are clear proof of the worth of

simple continuous narrative, as contrasted with detached single sentences. These six sentences run as follows:

Ut languent folio lilia pallido,
 Sic splendour nitidis qui radiat genis,
 Et pennis volitans forma fugacibus,
 Cursu perceleri fata ubi venerint,
 Perpulehri spoliū corporis horridum,
 Et nugas fragiles ludibrio dabunt.

More remarkable still is the long passage which forms the last forty-six sentences of the fifth century (on Fortitude and Weakness). Here each "sentence" is grammatically complete, but together they form a consecutive hymn on the Passion of Christ, and have a separate title as such. Sentences 463 to 468, describing the scenes in Gethsemane and during the following night, may be taken as a fair specimen of the whole passage:—

Ad quid, inquit suaviter, amice, appulisti?
 Numquid osculaberis, quem jam tradidisti?
 Assistentes interim, irrunt ministri.
 Nox insomnis integra illa terebatur:
 Nulla plane requies illi praestabatur:
 Colaphis et alapis innocens mactatur.

As this long passage of rhymed verse had to conform to the main rule of the *Janua*, which forbade repetition, it is improbable that it was borrowed as it stands from any earlier source. Taken together, the passages cited give a fair specimen of how the moralising or 'sententious' method of composition worked out in practice. A few

passages showing the separated sentences, as found in the earlier half of the book, will serve to illustrate the more usual type of work contained in it.

(1.) Sentences 54—62:

Basilica reverenter visitanda.

Inter benignos sodales ne sis tetricus.

Supplicanti succurrere ne pigeat.

Figura saeculi instabilis.

Mores Imperatoris imitari, genus quoddam obsequii est.

Venusta facies, muta commendatio.

Eloquentiae symphonia mulcet, et favorem obtinet.

Frivola voluptas in instanti perit.

Praeclara accurate agenda.

(2.) Sentences 189—193:

Sus Minervam docet.

Heredis fletus, sub larva risus est.

Viperam in sinu fovet.

Anguillam cauda capessis.

Ex arena funes et retinacula nectis.

(3.) Sentences 351—356:

Qualis vir, talis oratio.

Plurimum tribue antiquitati.

Civilis agrestes improbat et impugnat.

Latratus molossi furem manifestat.

Compatere multitudini advenarum.

Ubicunque interficere fas est, ibi etiam praedari.

The effort obviously made by Bathe and his fellow-workers to keep the earlier portion of the *Janua* simple in structure and meaning, naturally caused the subsequent centuries to be composed of more technical terms in too

great frequency. This is the 'old age,' 'decrepitude,' and 'loss of freshness' which is candidly spoken of in the preface. The result may be seen from the following groups, taken in each case from the closing decade of each set of sentences:—

(1.) Seventh Century:

In area lanio juvencos interimit.

Ranae coaxant in palude inter cannas.

Laevum pollicem fortuito luxavit.

(2.) Eighth Century:

Dominica est exordium hebdomadae.

Firimamentum orbem et elementa tegit.

In vicinia nostra grassatur contagio.

(3.) Ninth Century:

Calamarium scalpellum, graphium, carta, et atramentum
scribae instrumenta.

Sublimi theatro palatium illustratur.

Tapetes perbelli, et peristromata caerulea in Belgio
texuntur.

The closing portion of the unfinished eleventh century proves how difficult the formation of new sentences had become, and shows the range of the technical vocabulary contained in the *Janua*:

Sentences 1036—1041:

In circumferentia silvarum eminent casses.

Exinanivi in collo stamina, versato fuso.

Arcessit me Epicureus decoctor ad coagulum.

Ex contextu apophthegmata apocrypha delinam.

Patritius hyacinthina laena conspicuus ad justa cons-
titit, ad epilogum declamationis.

Retractare statutum aequipollet antiquationi.

Jealous criticism of the *Janua Linguarum* is dealt with beforehand in the last sentences of the discourse against envy. Speaking directly to his readers, Bathe says:

Quocirca Maecenates meos supplicibus precibus obsecro,

Ne stomachentur, si qui neoterici cavillatores

Hanc meam *Januam* suis probris sint pulsaturi.

Eamque rudibus, ut fuliginosam, inconditamque farra-
ginem inculcaturi:

Forsan enim quod devium est emendabunt,

Sin secus, necdum aegre perpetiar:

Aliquamdin utcunque cornua reprimam.

Quota enim est haec, ut sospes inter tot aquilas pericli-
tantes sit phoenix?

Quanquam, ni resipiscant, nae ipsi vapulabunt

Fustibus, et flagris: utpote quibus propediem

Tincta Lycambaeo sanguine tela dabo.

Peroravi.

Laeti completi labores.

Besides the undesirable massing together of numerous technical terms in the second half of the *Janua*, another fault has with reason been charged against the structural form. In Chapter III. of his Introduction Bathe expressly states that he aimed throughout at the greatest conciseness. No word was to encumber the pages of the *Janua* by being repeated, unless they were terms falling under no special group, such as the symbolic terms in, qui, sum, and the particles. The educational drawbacks of such a plan are easily seen to-day, though in the more vigorous

school-work of the authors' own day a treatise prepared on lines so economic would have had its uses as a text-book for a capable instructor. Objection to Bathe's limitations was, however, soon taken. In the preface to his *Poly-mathia Philologica*,¹ Johnston, a contemporary and friend of Comenius, points out that the Irish *Janua*, though destined to be used by beginners in the Latin school, contained only the more usual words, and that it was so hampered in execution by the fetish of non-repetition, that its concluding portions could scarcely be understood. Comenius himself, in the Preface to the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, indicated the same defects in almost the same words, but carefully avoids calling the principle of non-repetition in question. He consistently applied it, indeed, in his own work. The faults he finds are (a) the absence of many words required in everyday life; (b) the presence of others which are beyond the mental grasp of beginners; (c) the non-repetition of words which have several distinct meanings; (d) the giving in some cases of the derived rather than the primitive meaning of words. This latter defect is set down by Comenius to Bathe having as a rule striven to give his sentences some elegance of form. He adds that the result was frequently a sentence whose very meaning was not clear.

The account given by Comenius of the *Janua*, which was used throughout Europe before his own text-book appeared, has been taken at at least its own valuation by all English writers who have alluded to the Salamanca *Janua* at all. A fair specimen of this use of untested

¹ Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1667.

statements is found in the treatment of Bathe's work in Mr. M. W. Keatinge's edition of the *Great Didactic of Comenius*.² After a version of the history of the 1611 *Janua*, which will be corrected elsewhere, Mr. Keatinge declares that "the book was so very faulty that its undoubted success points to the very great demand that existed for a practical method of teaching beginners. Many of the most important words were altogether omitted, and others that were included were uncommon and quite unsuited for beginners. No care was taken to use the words in their root signification, and the sentences themselves, far from possessing educational value, were so ill-conceived as to make it scarcely credible that the book had been translated into eight languages by 1629."³

The charges are obviously repeated after Comenius, without independent verification. A successful text-book, which anticipated the work of Comenius in English dress by at least fifteen years, and which beside its European reputation had the merit of being connected with Oxford, deserved more careful consideration. But the charges are not merely repeated; owing to want of care in weighing the phraseology of Comenius, they are considerably exaggerated. Comenius says that some usual words are missing (*nonnulla vocum pars, quas quotidianus requirit usus, hic desideratur*): the editor of the *Great Didactic* alters "some" into "many." Neither of the critics indulge in specific proof of this charge. In view of the effective care that Bathe took to have his range of

² London, 1896.

³ Introduction—Biographical, p. 20.

vocabulary adequately represent the daily usage of secondary school life in his time, such absence of proof was certainly prudent. Both Comenius and his English editor state that words "uncommon and quite unsuited to beginners" occur in the *Salamanca Janua*. Comparison of this work with the *Janua* of Comenius would show Mr. Keatinge that the number of "uncommon words" is many times greater in the latter, and that while Bathe in the first part of his work kept the vocabulary simple and the sentences short and clear, Comenius, at a very early point indeed, seems to have assigned "all knowledge" as the proper province of the beginner. Further, Comenius (again without citing instances) expresses regret that Bathe did not keep every single word (*unamquamque vocem*) in its root meaning. Mr. Keatinge transforms this into "no care was taken to use the words in their root signification." Again, while Comenius fairly says that many sentences are "ill-devised" (*multarum sententiarum informitatem*); the charge is expanded by his editor's words, so as to affect *all* the sentences. On one issue, fortunately, Comenius both made a statement about the sentences of Bathe, and offered proof of it. He asserted that some of the sentences had no sense (*imo sensum nullum habent*), and he added, *exempli gratia*, four instances in point. Of these four sentences, Mr. Keatinge cites two, as examples given by Comenius. The latter alleges that they are meaningless. The former is more prudent; no charge of absence of meaning is made, but the examples are transferred to illustrate the accusation of *informitas*. Mr. Keatinge picks out the second and the

fourth of the sentences cited by Comenius; probably he saw that against the first and third neither the want of good form nor the want of meaning could fairly be alleged. The original examples as quoted in the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* are:

360. Artifici compedes impinguntur sui.

623. Vadem in ergastulo clam confectum comperi.

733. Occasus domini attingit limen.

953. Has dictionum telas posthumus nevit.

The first three sentences are quite plain in meaning:

His own fetters are fixed on the craftsman.

I found the hostage secretly done to death in prison.

The downfall of our empire is at our threshold.

The fourth sentence is also clear as to its sense: it is perhaps "ill-devised" or "ill-conceived" in unexpectedly alleging word-spinning against a posthumous son. The "webs of phrases" were spun by others, it would appear. And it may be pointed out that while only one of the incriminated sentences is taken from the first half of the Salamanca *Janua*, the only one which could be called even "ill-conceived" is taken from that concluding portion, as to which Bathe had himself in the Preface, frankly confessed judgment.

It should be noted that while Comenius thus criticises the execution in detail of Bathe's work, he fully acknowledges that the Irish Jesuits were absolutely the pioneers as regards the plan. *Patres isti tale hoc totius linguae compendium primi tentaverunt*, are the words of his Preface to his own *Janua*. He goes on to recognise gratefully the service which they rendered. To add to a scheme already

devised, to devise another plan on lines suggested by a previous work, are, he quite admits, tasks of much less difficulty than that which falls to a real inventor. And in the *Novissima Linguarum Methodus* of 1648, the credit of the invention of the new plan is yet more frankly assigned to the workers at Salamanca, whose book is described as *Elegans inventio Januae Linguarum Hibernica*. The Preface of Comenius to his own work, written in 1631, is thus confirmed by his statement of seventeen years later, written when that work had attained a European reputation fully equal to that of Bathe's *Janua*. Equally clear is his testimony that while the idea of a *Janua* had come to him before he met a copy of the Irish volume, he had not put pen to paper on the subject when in 1628 he was furnished by a friend with a copy of the Salamanca sentences. From the Preface of 1631⁴ it would seem that Bathe's work never reached Comenius in its original form, and that the copy he received was one of the Leipzig editions by Rhenius, in his *Methodus Institutionis nova quadruplex*, published first in 1617, and reissued in 1626. In the Preface to the 1617 edition of the latter work, Rhenius gives, as his reason for reprinting the Jesuits' *Janua*, the hope *ut nostri homines, si quibus forte tantum otii suppetit, simile quid accuratius effingendi occasionem haberent*. Comenius in 1631 cites these phrases almost textually, and says that, in default of others, he will, at the suggestion of so experienced an educationist as Rhenius, endeavour to supply what was wanting in Bathe's work. Now the Leipzig editions of Bathe contained no

⁴ 2nd Edition, Leipzig, 1632, p. 7 sq.

portion of the exhaustive Introduction to the Salamanca edition of 1611; so it is probable that Comenius never had an opportunity of weighing Bathe's design as explained by the author, or of knowing the elaborate care taken in Spain and Flanders to have the range of the Jesuits' *Janua* adequate for its educational purpose. Certainly Comenius does not cite or refer to any portion of the Salamanca introduction, not even the missionary object which Bathe had to no small extent in view. In the *Novissima Linguarum Methodus*,⁵ the importance of such works as aids in missionary effort is dwelt on at length, with special reference to the Indies. D'Acosta's work on Indian Missions is cited and warmly approved in this connection, though this writer contented himself with a general commendation of language study for missionary purposes. Bathe's preface deals with the same object in specific detail; but it is nowhere alluded to by Comenius, whose appreciation of the first *Janua Linguarum* was obviously interfered with by his not having seen any complete copy.

The structural principles of the two series of sentences elaborated by Bathe and Comenius may be defined as follows: Bathe, as he expressly said, aimed at giving a full Latin vocabulary through groupings based not on the natural relationship of words, but on moral maxims into which these words were introduced. The order in which the words themselves came before the learner was not primarily considered, though an effort was made to delay the presentation of the more technical terms. Comenius, on the contrary, gave a vocabulary, considerably larger

5 Amsterdam folio, 1657, c. 17, sect. 11.

than that of the Salamanca *Janua*, grouped systematically according to the natural connections of the words. His work, in fact, formed a small verbal encyclopaedia, arranged according to topics. The difference between the two works was clearly seen by the writer of the *Consilium de ministerio Charismatum in scholatrivialirecteformando*⁶ whom from internal evidence I judge to be one of the group of educational plan-makers working with Hartlib, Hübner, and Comenius. Treating (folio 255 sq.) of the programme for the third of the six classes in the *scholatrivialis*, the unnamed author directs that a Compendium ('commonly called a *Janua*') should be explained by the class according to the rules of syntax. 'Here,' he proceeds, "we come to inquire which type among the various *Janua* or *Compendia* is to be adopted for the class? Shall it be the volume of 'moral maxims' of the Irish Fathers, or the 'handbook of nature' of Comenius? (*An illa sententiosa Patrum Hibernorum, an illa realis Comenii?*); or shall it be one made up of striking and epigrammatic sayings?" The writer of the MS. tract was strongly Puritan in belief, and wished the subject-matter of Latin instruction to be more definitely religious in tone than either Bathe or Comenius, or any of the compilers of *Adagia*, from Erasmus downwards, professed to make it. "None of these volumes meet with my approval," he says; "not that they are ill-fitted to achieve their own purpose, but because their accompanying subject-matter (*occupatio concomitans*) is not serious enough." That matter should be of greater final value than the linguistic purpose to

⁶ Sloane MSS., B. M. vol. 649, fol. 238—260.

which it is to be directed: and for the object in view he wishes a narrative to be prepared from the historical books of the Scriptures. The same proposal was made by Rhenius in his Preface to the Leipzig edition of the *Salamanca Janua* and other tracts, 1617. He apologises for offering his readers a work by Jesuits, in which much would be found contrary to their orthodox religion, and much that is rough and unpolished. But the main issue is a language method, not articles of Religion. Earnestness and good endeavour should be praised even in an enemy: and the *Salamanca* sentences are added to the other tracts, in the hope that some one on the Protestant side may produce a more exact work, containing the more remarkable maxims of Biblical and classical writers, as unchanged as possible, and set forth in due order. It was on this invitation, as I have mentioned, that Comenius acted in composing his own *Janua*: but the idea of using the Bible as a source of sentences he set aside. It would have been impossible to keep Biblical maxims unaltered, and at the same time provide a text-book based on the systematic presentation of *realia*, so as to provide *Januam . . . illam Encyclopaediolae faciem referentem*, of which he speaks twenty years later in the Preface to the *Auctarium*.

The desire to secure with the initial study of Latin, a comprehensive survey of nature in school-work and in school-books, was in the seventeenth century by no means confined to the innovators in language method working with Comenius in Germany and in England. To a rather surprising extent it was shared by the chief classical

scholars of the day. Morhof, in his exhaustive *Polyhistor Litterarius*⁷ traces the principle of such instruction to Bacon and Spinoza, and declares his own adherence to it. Besides others, he adds, it is urged by J. H. Boekler, a notable professor and writer at Strasburg and Upsala (died 1672). Quoting a MS. tract of Boekler, Morhof joins with him in pointing out that the ideal of classical Latinity and encyclopaedic subject matter has yet to be realised in a school-book. On the score of bad Latin Boekler condemned the *Janua* of Comenius, and recommended the use of Bathe's work in its place. Morhof, whose *Polyhistor* is a mine of information on educational issues of the 17th century, is emphatic in his condemnation of Comenius' book. Even the subject matter and its arrangement is not spared: but fault is chiefly found with the bald statements of fact (*mera axiomata*) in which that matter is set out. Some trace of periodic structure, some echo of classical style is to be sought for. The attacks on the *Janua* of Comenius were also joined in by Mechovius, professor at Lureberg (d. 1678), who in *Hermathena* (published 1673) gives an exhaustive survey of classical teaching and method. And the unsuitability of the book for school use is pointed out more than once by Crenius in the valuable notes, written at the close of the seventeenth century, and added to his collection of tracts on education.⁸ On the score of style also, the exclusion from schools of the *Janua* of Comenius is urged by John Scheffer of Strasburg (de Stylo, Jena, 1708).

⁷ 2nd Edition, Lubeck, 1695, Bk. II., c. 4.

⁸ *Consilia et Methodi aureae studiorum . . . quae Thomas Crenius collegit*: Rotterdam, 1692.

The verdict passed by professional scholars on the *Janua* of the Irish Jesuits was in every case far more favourable. Morhof's view is clearly the same as that of his friend Boekler; and Morhof's standing as a classical authority is amply testified to by Sir J. Sandys.⁹ That Bathe's work kept its reputation for classic Latinity well into the eighteenth century is shown by the reference made to it in J. F. Nolte's *Bibliotheca Latinitatis Restitutae*.¹⁰ Nolte was Rector of the Ducal Academy of Schenningen when he wrote of Bathe's work as fitted for the exact acquirement of the Latin language especially (*ad Latinam praecipue linguam accuratius perdiscendam*); and he adds that it is thought a wonderful piece of work (*pro opere mirabili habetur*). In the notice of Scioppius, Nolte points out that his linguistic method was largely helped *adminiculo elegantiorum sententiarum*, derived from the Salamanca *Janua* of William and John Bathe, and Stephen (White). The careful Latinity, with which Bathe is always credited, thus secured for his book a degree of consideration which Comenius did not obtain from scholars who sympathised both with his religious policy and with his ideal of encyclopaedic knowledge. The commendations of his Jesuit brethren, Pexenfelder, Vasco, and Lagomarsini, are preceded and accompanied by praise from northern classical scholars. The attention to classical style, with which Comenius¹¹ finds fault in Bathe's sentences (*utpote cum sententiarum elegantiam plerubique*

⁹ *History of Classical Scholarship*: Vol. II., pp. 365–366, Cambridge, 1908.

¹⁰ Vol. II., Leipzig, 1768.

¹¹ Preface to *Janua*, ed. 1632, Leipzig: p. 8.

captarit auctor) is thus proved to be not a drawback, but a distinct commendation of the Irish *Janua*. And the objection of Comenius serves to explain why he found it necessary to issue to the classical world of Germany an *Apologia pro suae Januae Latinitate*: a defence which as Morhof says, would itself stand in need of a second *Apologia*.

CHAPTER V.

The Preface to the *Janua Linguarum*.

THE Introduction and Preface to the Irish *Janua Linguarum* occupies pages 7 to 24 of the first edition, and is followed immediately by a rendering of the whole into Spanish. In the *Prooemium* and the eleven chapters which follow it, Bathe gives a complete and carefully composed treatise on the purpose and advantages of his plan, and on language methods in general. The language used throughout leads to the conclusion that the Introduction was entirely his own work, though he occasionally speaks in the plural number, for himself and the other *Patres Hiberni* of Salamanca. The whole of this tractate on education is eminently practical in both its own plan and in the doctrines it contains. There are no theoretical disquisitions on the value of language study, or the ultimate purposes of education. The value of Bathe's views is well brought out by the fact that in eight of the nine English editions of his *Janua* the introductory pages were not only retained, but given in English as well.

The author of the *Janua* begins by defining precisely the persons to whom his sentences will be useful. They are classed as follows:—

- (1) Missionaries in foreign lands—for the mastery of vernacular tongues there;
- (2) Confessors—in dealing with foreign penitents;
- (3) Men advanced in years, who wish to shorten grammar studies on the way to taking orders;
- (4) Those who wish to understand the Scriptures and the liturgy, but shrink from the labour of learning Latin in the ordinary ‘intricate’ way;
- (5) Students of grammar and rhetoric, who by applying it to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, can learn a fuller vocabulary in three months than the ordinary methods would give them in three years;
- (6) Teachers, who will find it handy to show the elemental words usually met with in Latin authors;
- (7) Travellers, who by its aid can gather for themselves a useful ‘*silva*’ of words from a given vernacular language;
- (8) Men of affairs, envoys for example, who will find it of advantage owing to the scanty time they can devote to learning a foreign language;
- (9) Pages in the households of noblemen, who by its aid will repair the loss suffered through not attending public schools;
- (10) Those who object to spending long years in the study of *litterae humaniores*;
- (11) All who wish to learn the ‘nobler’ modern languages Italian, Spanish, German, French.

The classification shows at once the mind of the scholar, the churchman, the traveller not unacquainted with courts and public affairs, who has carefully mapped out the field

of usefulness which his personal experience enabled him to see as requiring cultivation and development. It will also serve to explain special classes of words which are worked into the services, and which would appear peculiar fare for language learners to-day, though of definite and distinctive use at the opening of the seventeenth century. Latin was then the almost exclusive language of affairs in Church and State; in political, religious, and literary controversy; in international intercourse—as may be seen from the public office held half a century later by John Milton; in the sciences of law and medicine, as is testified by the works of Grotius and by the report of the physicians on the last illness of Charles II. of England. The vocabulary and the idiom then required by a learner of Latin for practical use, were therefore far wider and far more technical than those which even professional scholars would find themselves ready in. To meet the needs of all the specified classes of learners Bathe provided a vocabulary of about 5,300 carefully selected ‘fundamental’ words. The point on which his language manual differed from the *Nomenclatores* and the various *Colloquia* which then held sway as beginners’ books, he brings out very clearly. ‘Many have collected moral maxims, and published their collections for the moral ideas alone. Those workers who have arranged moral maxims on a fixed plan according to the device of this book, have made their collection both agreeable to read, and also of practical use. In the usual collections there is much that is trifling, much that serves the booksellers’ pocket rather than the learner’s needs, much that is unworked and not properly arranged.

The plan which Bathe followed was strictly determined by the principle of non-repetition. A word once definitely used was to serve in future not only for itself, but for all cognate words easily traceable to it. So rigorous a restriction may appear to us to be out of harmony with rational method. But it must be remembered that Bathe provided his work as a basis for personal effort exerted by large classes of learners who are naturally averse to the repetition in print of what they are seeking to learn, and who in his day were more inclined to the fullest use of the memory than average educators and learners are to-day. And he had furthered their efforts by the provision of a simple but exhaustive index, constructed so as to render most efficient aid to the learner. In the Salamanca edition it gives every Latin word used, with the number of the sentence in which it is to be found, and the Spanish equivalent. Thus an index reference such as

Velamen. 81. Velo, cubierta, o manto.

sends the learner to the sentences:

81. Nobilitas nequitiae velamen.

81. La nobleza es cubierta de malicia.

A plain and practical plan such as this would make repetition of the printed word unnecessary: and the authors of the *Janua*, like all good writers of text-books in their period, believed in oral repetition, not in the wearisome printed iteration of the modern elementary manual.

Having cited some examples of the successful use of his sentences, even in their previous condition as '*impolita quaedam hujus artificii fragmenta*,' Bathe points out that his method leads directly to the understanding of

languages, in speech and writing. Towards a speaking knowledge it helps, but does not directly and quickly lead. His aim, he says, is to enable words to be recognised when seen and heard: and this is more easily secured through an ordered and systematic set of sentences, than by the casual processes of the ordinary method of language-learning.

The *Janua* was, however, in Bathe's own view, as much a method as a text-book for the particular languages in which the first edition was issued. It was intended to stimulate active thought and work in the learner of any language whatever. The title-page, and Chapter I. of the Tractate, emphasise the fact that it opened up a way to the understanding of *all* languages. The edition of 1611 was just one instance of how it might be applied, in learning Latin through Spanish: it was a '*Janua . . . nunc ad linguam Latinam perdiscendam accommodata.*' The book was to point out a method, sure, easy, and brief, for learning all languages that might be required. The compiler's mind was that each learner of a language might take (say) the Latin sentences of the *Janua* as a starting point, and systematically add to his vocabulary of the language to be acquired, by securing renderings of the sentences in that language. The many editions of the Irish *Janua* aimed at either providing fresh starting points for beginners, or at doing for them the work that they could perhaps best do for themselves.

The process by which Bathe determined the range of his book is detailed by himself in Chapter IV. of his Prefatory Tractate, and affords the clearest evidence of his pains-

taking thoroughness and practical outlook. Before composing the sentences, he got together and sifted the whole of the vocabulary which was conveyed through them. That vocabulary was to be limited to what was reasonably essential, *ne verborum classes sine congrua necessitate accumuluntur*. Words again, might be familiar at one period, rare in another: usual in one kind of society, unknown in a different one. They might vary in frequency of use as between doctors of medicine and those who have no technical knowledge of such subjects; or between the languages as written and as spoken, between prose and poetry, between the range of ideas of any two men. What standard was to be fixed for the 'usual and fundamental' vocabulary which the *Janua Linguarum* was to contain? It is at this critical point in the formation of his plan that Bathe showed himself superior to the 'pansophic' system adopted by Comenius, for the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* of 1631, and far more practical than the later tribe of editors, ever prone to re-edit, enlarge, and annotate the school-book. It has been pointed out that the classes of persons for whom the *Janua* was designed were very various. To include a vocabulary to meet all the professional wants of all of them would render a beginner's book, useful to all alike, an impossibility. Three of the ten classes of learners definitely described in the Introduction to the *Janua* are those whom we would now call secondary teachers, secondary scholars, and seekers for shorter methods of language-study in schools. The vocabulary which Bathe decided to admit was that which would be 'usual and fundamental' in their situation. It

was determined in detail, and not merely in principle, by the author himself, and this most necessary task was done in the only practical way which could be devised, that is, by observation in the class-rooms and the playing-grounds of the secondary school he best knew. The words of Bathe's Tractate which mention this capital characteristic of the Irish *Janna* are as follows (Ed. of 1611, Chap. IV., p. 16):—

Ut prudenter in hoc opere procederetur, vocabulorum selector certis se limitibus circumscripsit, qui fuere status discipulorum operam litteris humanioribus in Belgio navantium, ubi et ipse amoenum studiorum stadium percucurrit.

The college in which the *vocabulorum selector* made his experimental observations with so practical a purpose and result, was in all probability that which the Jesuits re-opened at Tournai, in the Rue des Allemands (now Rue des Jesuites) on October 9, 1595. They had thrice had to leave the city during the stormy thirty years which preceded the entry of William Bathe as a novice at that college. His duties there from 1595 to at least 1597, would naturally have included a good deal of contact with the students, both in and out of the class-room: and this is all the more likely in the case of a novice who was of mature years, and who was educated at the great Universities of Oxford and Louvain. After 1597 he would have had further opportunities of developing his observations during his study of Theology at St. Omer: but the main source of his vocabulary was, as he says, within Belgium. At Louvain, during his study of philosophy, there does not

seem to have been any body of secondary scholars: it was, like Oxford, solely a University city. But under the head of 'scholars in arts within Belgium' he may well have brought the students of Arts in Louvain, in whose yearly examinations for the position of '*primus in Artibus*' Irish students were victorious both before and after Bathe's sojourn at that University. We know from the *Janua* that its inventor was working at the plan of the book some twenty years before its publication in 1611, which would indicate that he had conceived the main idea before he left Ireland for the last time, on his way to Louvain.

Having stated his principle of selection, Bathe proceeds to describe how from the index thus formed on the spot, he proceeded to bind the words together in numbered sentences, to which the index would refer. He was not writing a treatise on grammar, and therefore he dealt with words as 'fundamental' when they were so not in any etymological, but in a practical sense. A compound word could thus be 'fundamental.' He instances *restauro* and *instauro*. Of these, again, he would give the one which comes first in the alphabetical index. Experience led him to divide 'usual' and 'fundamental' words from 'unusual' and 'derived' words, and to make separate lists of them as they might combine various qualities, such as:—

(1), usual and fundamental; (2), unusual and fundamental; (3), usual and derived; (4), unusual and derived.

Words, again, might be in use, but not in common use: and the latter alone were chosen by the selector of the

words, who in the closing sentence of this important chapter defines the determining principle once more:

Ut tamen vocabulum aliquod sit familiare, requiritur ulterius rem significatam talem esse, ut quotidie aut communiter occurrat de ea sermo inter eos, quorum statum selector vocabulorum respicit.

It was not only the range of vocabulary that was carefully planned by the workers at the Salamanca *Janua*: the methods of language teaching were also thoroughly considered by Bathe, in the second, third, and sixth chapters of his prefatory tractate. He points out that all existing methods may be reduced to two, according to their main principle. The '*via regularis*'—which may be translated the 'rule-way,' proceeding by the grammatical processes so familiar to students of all languages in the school work of the last generation, is slow even if sure and thorough when it is given the time it requires. The 'ruleless-way,' or '*via irregularis*' was, as Bathe says, the only one in use for learning modern languages in his time. The elaborated grammars and exercises for modern language teaching, produced during the period 1850—1900 under the influence of traditional classical methods, were quite unknown in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Learners of spoken languages at that time invariably used the 'natural' or 'direct' method: the notion that this plan is of recent discovery is, of course, utterly baseless. Bathe notes that the 'direct' method is the easier one—at least for the learner: the 'ruleless-way,' he points out, 'gives more ease in learning.' There were, however, no special text-books for it in his time: it was above all the method

of the spoken word. In consequence there was considerable danger that guiding principles would not be grasped, and that in the domain of vocabulary large areas might remain quite barren. He set himself, therefore, to devise a 'middle way' or '*via media*,' in which the accuracy of the grammar process and the facility of the direct method might be happily blended together. In the *Janua*, as it was issued in 1611, the first part of his task was dealt with: the acquirement of an accurate and generally useful vocabulary was the main object it was to aid learners to attain. In aiming directly at vocabulary through phrases, not through isolated words, while indirectly furnishing the simpler forms of sentence expression and their underlying grammatical principles, Bathe would seem to place himself at a standpoint nearly corresponding to the 'left centre' in the battle array of controversy on language teaching to-day. His '*via media*' consisted in making the concise sentence, that '*sententia moralis*' likely to find ready lodgment in the intelligence, the vehicle of a vocabulary whose careful organisation we have already seen. These sentences were not only compact, but simple in expression. The writer of the Preface to the *Janua* and the planners of the sentences saw that for the ordinary needs of speech in a modern language no study of an elaborated series of grammar rules, no knowledge of the intricate government and construction of dependent clauses in verbose periods, was at all necessary. The uselessness for modern French conversation, of the vast mass of complicated rules which our French Grammars used to furnish a quarter of a century ago, would alone amply prove that

Bathe had reason on his side. The study and the systematic practice of such rules in translation exercises of a deliberately complex type is for all average learners of modern languages an uneconomic use of time and mental energy.

But though Bathe saw clearly that 'all the precepts given in grammar rules can be taught suitably in sentences also,' he quite realised that his 'middle way,' or approximately direct method, would not fulfil a secondary purpose of grammar, as the vehicle of teaching for the learned tongues in the schools of his time. The main purpose of grammar is, as he says, to lead to the speaking of a language so that the words used are in proper agreement with each other. But besides this, grammar had also in school-practice an independent position of its own, as a body of scientifically-organised rules, claiming to be studied for its own sake. This position had been secured for grammar by the end of the sixteenth century, owing to the work of Franciscus Sanctius of Salamanca, of William Lily in England, Nicholas Perotti in Italy, Simon Verepaens of Bois-le-duc, Joannes Rivius, Nicodemus Frischlin, and the reforming side in the *Bellum Grammaticale* in Germany. It was to be rendered more secure by the efforts of G. J. Vossius, Caspar Schoppe, and Joachim Lange during the seventeenth century. The simplification of grammar so effected was a great boon, when we take into account the maze of precepts and classifications clustering round the *Doctrinale* and the name of Donatus. But all the progress made in grammatical reform served only to strengthen the position

of grammar as a substantive element in ordinary school-work. That his 'via media' in language teaching would not give the knowledge, required by school-practice in his time, of grammar as a self-contained art or science, is fully acknowledged by Bathe in the sixth chapter of his tractate. From his affirmation that grammar in this sense is a subordinate element in even a strictly classical education, and that 'this end is secondary, and *special to the art of grammar*' we may fairly infer his belief that even in Greek and Latin it occupied too prominent and definite a place in school work. The idea of dethroning grammar from its commanding position in language-teaching had indeed been mooted before Bathe's time, and had been met by Melanchthon, *Praeceptor Germaniae*, in characteristic fashion. Departure from 'rules' as a basis for learning languages he described as an irreligious idea, which should be punished as a criminal offence. Use of the 'direct' method, which he declared to be '*confusanea discendi ratio*,' should be met by a penal law: '*publice debebant in tales praeceptores poenae constitui, qui praecepta fastidiunt*': and he supports this contention, in the Preface to his Syntax, by a line of reasoning which echoes the arguments of Plato against any tolerance of new musical compositions in his ideal commonwealth.

So strongly-entrenched a position it would be useless to attack in front: and so Bathe contents himself with hinting, at the close of his sixth chapter, that a scheme for the use of his sentences in a formal grammar-process may be forthcoming later. The 'via media' of his invention could not *at present* aim at supplying the place of formal

grammar-study: but he had previously hinted that when fully developed it would do so.¹ The sentences of 1611 were, if treated on the unrevealed plan, a suitable method of teaching 'all the precepts given in the grammar rules.' So too Comenius describes his own *Janua* as a *grammatica concreta*.² The *nomenclatores* which they both aimed at displacing were careful to avoid any appearance of competition with the grammars of the day, still elaborately technical in classification and terminology. They were rather the humble ministers of *Grammatica*, queen of the schools. That the appearance of the Irish *Janua* of 1611 at Salamanca, and its frequent republication during the next twenty years at Leipzig, Strasburg, London, and Bastle, was felt by German scholars to be a marked step in advance of existing processes of language teaching, we have the express testimony of a distinguished classical scholar in Germany during that period.

In the *Novissima Linguarum Methodus*,³ Comenius quotes some sentences from a letter of J. A. Corvinus of Leipzig, in which the writer expounds to John Michael Dilherr, Professor, Professor of Rhetoric at the Palatine Gymnasium of Saale, the lines on which he wishes his own son to be taught. Like most professors, Corvinus had his own ideas on methods of school teaching, and (with expressions of regard and due consideration) he puts aside even that of Comenius, in words which Comenius does not quote. The cited sentences, however, contain commendation of the good work done by recent writers on method

¹ Salamanca *Janua*, c. 2.

² In the *Novissima Linguarum Methodus* of 1648, Ch. II., par 13.

³ Chap. 18, par. 13.

in coming to the aid of afflicted youth by exposing the impudent tricks of grammar-conjurers. These *præstigiatores*, he goes on, make-believe to teach languages by keeping us under the pestle, working at minutiae of grammar rules, until the age of 18: they give no body of words or ideas. Yet the writers on method have also the drawback that in furnishing the latter “they do so in a style more suited for repetition and for refreshing knowledge already acquired, than for learning a new language.” At this point Comenius closes his citation from the letter of Corvinus. It was published at Leipzig in 1634, in a tract of which I have not been able to inspect any copy. But in the Sloane MS.⁴ a writer of the Hartlib-Dury circle has provided a full manuscript copy of the tractate of Corvinus: it was of sufficient moment to be transcribed and sent to England under date of December 31, 1635. From it I take the words next following the point where Comenius broke off his quotation:

“How is this the case, you will say. I answer, that (I.) the *Nomenclatores* (who reigned alone before the publication of the Spanish *Janua*) are not able to furnish materials for a beginner. They give lists of mere names, and omit the words which are the main part of each language;

“(II.) Sentences have the disadvantage that the subject matter of them as yet lacks order, and needs to be re-classified.”

Corvinus then proceeds to give details of his own ideas

⁴ 649, fol. 232 sq.

on the method in language teaching. They are specifically intended for Hebrew : but are described as available for all other tongues. The method he proposes is, it need hardly be said, characterised as ‘ *compendiosa, jucunda, et sola solida* ’ : I need only mention that the second out of eleven stages of the process is the learning by heart of a lexicon of root-forms. The disapproval of his methods by Corvinus would appear, to have with other criticisms, affected Comenius : in the treatise of 1648 the very title is significant of altered views, and we are not surprised to find that he describes⁵ his “ *Conspectus of Nature, clothed in Words,*” as having been “ *crudely*” called *Janua Linguarum* by himself seventeen years before. First attempts, he explains, are usually imperfect : and he has now changed the name to *Rerum Nomenclatura*. Later⁶ he acknowledges a radical change in the whole idea of the *Janua Reserata* of 1631 : words are the prime matter of sentences, and all the words, he now sees, should be learned in their series, before a single sentence, is handled ! This foolish abandonment of his own design by Comenius did not affect the fortunes of his *Janua* as a school-book : schoolmasters were wiser in their generation than the author of the book himself. But it is one of many reversals of opinion which should give pause to those who build to-day such elaborate structures of educational theory on casual utterances picked from small portions of his voluminous but often self-contradictory writings. Almost alone among English commentators on his works, Pro-

⁵ *Op. cit.*, chap. 5, par. 14.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, chap. 18, par. 15.

fessor S. S. Laurie, in his careful little volume on Comenius,⁷ points out that the original *Janua Reserata* was not merely altered or added to by its author, but was in express words repudiated in favour of a type of work as complicated, difficult, and uneducational, as any offered by the worst books in use in schools before his time.

No such alteration was ever made in the work of Bathe himself, or attempted by any of the editors of the Irish *Janua*, as far as I know. Comenius began by attaching an exclusive value to the method of sentences alone, a value which Bathe never thought they possessed. He declares that he followed the Irish Jesuits⁸ in avoiding the repetition of words: but he goes on to say that he does not follow them in adding an index.⁹ Yet the index, on Bathe's businesslike plan, is the one justification of non-repetition of words. Very soon he changed his mind, and published the index which he declared in the first edition to be of no great use. And then came the radical recasting of the *Janua*, in which the principle of non-repetition is flung aside. So much for the *immotae Didacticae leges* which in 1631 he claims to have guided him in his writings.

That the Salamanca *Janua* aimed mainly at the provision of an adequate general vocabulary, is clear from its author's statements cited above. In Chapter VII. of his Tractate Bathe points out that the 'elegancies' of Latin can be grouped into one continuous narrative, concise and apt for use. To provide it, however, would

⁷ Cambridge, 1899.

⁸ Preface of 1631—2, page 11.

⁹ p. 12.

delay the issue of the Sentences: he therefore appears to have postponed its construction. The Sentences on rare words are definitely announced to appear in a second edition of the *Janua*: owing to the death of the author in 1614, they were not published, and no record of them is known to exist. These sentences, he points out, will inevitably contain nouns chiefly: to bind them together suitable verbs will be required. He sees that a familiar verb is best for this purpose: and to get them in sufficient number he proposes to relax the rule against repetition. 'The divine art of local memory' (*si quis divina arte memoriae localis praeditus foret*) would enable its possessors to master a new language in two or three days, on the plan of the Irish *Janua*. Bathe seems to have had some share of the gift himself: he tells us that the statement above will not be denied by anyone who has tasted (*vel extremis labris*) the pleasure it gives. Ingenious people will be easily able to see many circumstances which help to make his scheme really feasible: he contents himself with noting that it will also be necessary to compile an index of the modern words, with numbering and Latin equivalents as on the plan of the index furnished by the author. Some terms in the modern language may be found unrepresented in the existing sentences: new ones should be composed to include them, and then rendered into Latin. Words having two meanings should be treated on the model of the existing *Appendix de Ambiguis*. Bathe states that this appendix contains only the chief instances of variant meanings in Latin words. Those further needed can be got together by the learner's own

exertions. The Salamanca plan was one which called for alertness of mind and personal enterprise on the part of the student. Its method was essentially active: the text-book is merely to furnish a basis or main plan, and is not, as modern text-books so frequently do, to furnish the student with all requisites in the way of ready-made knowledge.

In his concluding chapter Bathe brings together a number of observations to be developed in a further edition of his work. The view that the specimen portion of the *Janua* should serve as a guide or as a framework into which the results of others' labours could be fitly placed, is again found here. Any one who is inclined to carry on the task further, is directed to collect the notable phrases and elegancies from such works as that of Aldus Manutius.

The 'continuous discourse' against envy, which concluded Bathe's sentences, is put forward as a model of how repetition can be avoided: it is again pointed out that in a manual of this kind repetition would be superfluous.

The connection of the *Janua* with the languages of common use is dealt with in Chapter VIII. 'Of Translating the Sentences into other Vulgar Tongues.' Accurate renderings of the words is of the highest importance, whether the learner begins with a knowledge of Latin, or with a knowledge of a modern language. These Sentences are better suited, in all cases, for learners of modern languages than for learners of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The former lack the mass of rules which students are rigorously expected to know in the learned languages.

NOTE TO CHAPTER V.

A version of three chapters in the Introductory Tractate to the *Janua* of 1611, which treat of language method.

CHAPTER II.

Of the three ways of learning Languages: the 'Rule-way,' the 'Ruleless-way,' and the 'Via Media'; and of the comparison of them.

For learning languages, which consist of the four elements named above (viz.: words, concord of words, idiomatic phrases, style) only two ways have yet been found: the 'rule-way,' such as grammar applied to note the concord of words, and the 'ruleless-way,' the ordinary plan of learners of common tongues through reading and speaking. The two ways are so far related to each other, that the 'rule-way' gives more sureness, the 'ruleless-way' more ease in learning. The former is to be preferred where the language is not in common use, the latter in case of a vulgar tongue. But if a 'via media' can be thought out, which would equal the 'rule-way' in sureness, and the 'ruleless-way' in ease, it would beyond question be placed several degrees higher than either. Such a way we have here, with the divine help, undertaken to point out.

CHAPTER III.

The 'Via Media' for learning Languages, applied to the first of the four elements mentioned above.

Grammar teaches concords by way of rules, and in like way the vocabulary teaches words. Here arises the question: How does it come that, in learning concords, some

adopt the 'rule-way,' and some the 'ruleless-way,' while in learning words no one sets before himself the 'rule-way,' by thoroughly learning a series of words? For this three reasons can be given. First, that Vocabularies contain many unusual words, useless for the purposes of many of the learners. Secondly, that a close connection exists between many words: and so, when one fundamental word is known as the source of others, these are very easily inferred from it. Such are *turbo*, *perturbo*, *conturbo*, *disturbo*, *turbatus*, *turbans*, *turbatio*, and many others. When the meaning of one of them is known beforehand, the rest easily follow; and so they do not call for any special effort on the part of a learner. The third and main reason is that words in a Vocabulary lack significance; from this it follows that the memory, deprived of the assistance of the intelligence, cannot keep firm hold on them.

By an adjusted effort in these three directions the present plan aims at removing these hindrances. To obviate the first, the dictionary of Calepinus is divided into two groups of words. Unusual words are set aside, and an index exclusively composed of usual words. By 'usual' and 'unusual' we mean 'in more frequent use' and 'in less frequent use.' To melt the second obstacle, fundamental words are alone put in the index: words that can be inferred from them are passed over. As a remedy for the third hindrance, sentences are constructed, suitable for memorising, and as concise as possible: no word encumbers our pages by being repeated. Several have frequently made their appearance in various places. They have how-

ever the privilege of being outside any category, and they have been allowed to so appear, because no other course was possible. Such are: *et, in, qui, sum, fio*, and the like; and particles also. Although only usual words appear in the present issue, yet if this first result bring news of its success, and if it meet with general approval, it will be re-issued in finer array, with the addition—costing as much further effort—of the unusual words, and the other elements required for the complete building.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Concords of Words.

What has been said above makes it clear that by the ‘*via media*’ all words can be learned in sentences as easy as the ordinary expressions of the ‘*ruleless-way*,’ as sure as the ‘*rule-way*’ of a Vocabulary, and involving all that is contained in the Vocabulary itself. All the precepts given in the grammar rules can be taught conveniently in sentences also, so that they may lodge themselves in the mind with more ease, speed, and security. This will suffice on the aim and fitting plan of language learning, particularly in the common tongues, where there is no need of scientific acquirement of what relates to Grammatical Method.

But in the scholastic languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which are taught in schools by a definite plan, this ‘*via media*’ will not suffice. The purpose of grammar is twofold. It leads to the speaking of a language accord-

ing to the agreement of words; and this main purpose is common both to the art of grammar and to the ordinary usage of life. It also communicates the rules in a scientific way, and these rules enable us to acquire a knowledge of concord of words—not an ordinary knowledge, but the knowledge based on a fixed plan, and on the art of grammar. This end is secondary, and is special to the art of grammar. It is necessary in the scholastic languages, to convey a knowledge of grammatical terms occurring generally in the writers. From these remarks the field of usefulness before this ‘*via media*,’ and the purposes for which it does not suffice. At present it is not relevant to indicate definitely how the sentences can be so united that in them may be found all that is needful for the main end of speaking according to the concord of words. In this issue of the work, only the first part, that which bears on words, is set out.

CHAPTER VI.

The German Editions of the *Janua Linguarum*.

THE story of the coming of the Irish Jesuits' *Janua Linguarum* into Germany is given by Comenius in the eighth chapter of his *Novissima Linguarum Methodus*.¹ The Latin text may be rendered as follows :

“ At this point the elegant Irish invention of the *Janua Linguarum* must not be left unmentioned. I shall tell its history briefly, as I heard it from the noble gentleman, John Bodek, Knight, of Prussia. I name him to praise him, because it is to his efforts that we owe the first publication of the invention. In the company of certain English gentlemen of rank, members of the illustrious houses of Paulet and Palmer, he had gone on a journey to Spain in 1605. At Valladolid they were awaiting for some weeks the arrival of the King of England's Ambassador, who was to ratify by oath the terms of peace concluded shortly before, between the two Kingdoms, by the Constable of Castile, John de Velasco. It happened that they were accosted by the Theatine Fathers—so the Spanish call the Jesuits—from the English

¹ Amsterdam folio of 1657, pages 81—2.

Seminary at Salamanca. Among them was a certain Irish father. Conversation took place on a brief way of learning Spanish, and they asked his advice. He began to recommend his method, which he had used with success in acquiring Hebrew too. Any one who should learn the Latin and Spanish words there arranged into 1200 sentences, would have all the fundamental words of the latter language. Words remaining over could be supplied by the reading of Spanish authors—among them he recommended Luis of Granada. He gave them the written text of his method, for their private use alone. It was brought by them to England, and the invention was judged worthy of not being allowed to remain in obscurity. It appeared, then, in England first of all, with an English and French version . . . The same book was reprinted in Germany by Isaac Habrecht, Doctor of Medicine at Strassburg.”

The peace between England and Spain was sworn to at Valladolid, on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1605, by the High Admiral of England. It ended the long-drawn war in which Ireland and Spain were in league against England, and which was marked by the historic names of Hugh O'Neill, Hugh O'Donnell, and Don Juan d'Aguila, and the no less historic spots, Kinsale, Smerwick, and Dunboy. The closing years of the war would have drawn William Bathe to Valladolid. He was to be Secretary to the Papal Nuncio to Ireland, Luigi Mansoni, who all through 1602 and 1603 was at that royal city, awaiting the possible renewal of the struggle by the King of Spain.

Writing from Valladolid in March 1602, and January 1603, the Venetian Ambassadors report that the Irish envoys call loudly to His Majesty; and among these the foremost was the gallant Hugh O'Donnell, chieftain of Tyrconnell, a connection, by marriage, of the Jesuit author of the manuscript *Janua Linguarum*. Thus William Bathe had more than ordinary reason for being present while the ratification of the peace was pending: and so he would naturally come in contact with English noblemen who were waiting to do honour to their Sovereign's ambassador. Not improbably the Paulet mentioned by Comenius as one of the company who discussed language-method with William Bathe, was William Paulet, Lord St. John, who was commonly called Lord Paulet. The eldest son of the fourth Marquis of Winchester, he had on September 2, 1604, taken out a license to travel for three years.² But the three years lengthened out to five or more, as we find him recalled by his near kinsman, Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State, in the close of the year 1609. The young man's letter to the Minister is sent from Paris³; he pleads that the reports of his negligence in religion are spread by his enemies. Possibly Cecil may have thought otherwise, for his kinsman's younger brother, who became fifth Marquis of Winchester, was the staunch Catholic and "great Royalist" whose soldierly service of Charles I. is memorable in the history of the Great Rebellion. Lord Paulet was in Italy in 1608,⁴ and Spain would hardly have been omitted from his grand tour.

² State Papers, Domestic, 1603-10: p. 147.

³ State Papers, *ibid.*, p. 558.

⁴ State Papers, *ibid.*, p. 463.

The manuscript copy of the *Janua*, given in 1605 by William Bathe to the three noblemen from Northern Europe, was obviously meant to teach them Spanish through Latin. The additions made to it, according to Comenius, consisted of a French and an English version. This would clearly make up the *Janua Quadrilinguis* as published by Barbier in 1617, a version which, as we may gather from the account of his own purpose given by Barbier, was meant for the use of gentlemen rather than for schools. The evidence in favour of a previous issue in 1615, with the Latin and the English text only, is given elsewhere: it rests to a considerable extent on Barbier's prefaces also. The rank of the three travellers would also account for the association of the book with Court and Privy Council, indicated by the dedication of Welde's issues to Clement Edmonds, Clerk of the Council, and of Barbier's to Charles Prince of Wales, as a New Year's gift: it is fairly clear from internal evidence that both dedications were something more than 'by permission' only.

Comenius⁵ tells us that when in 1628 he began to form a first view as to the plan and contents of 'a shorter way of teaching Latin,' he was quite unaware of the story of how Bathe's *Janua* reached Northern Europe first. A discussion of his idea with some friends brought him word of the Spanish *Janua* from some one unnamed (*nonnemo*). This was clearly not the Prussian Knight, John Bodek, who must subsequently have given him the important account of the Irish *Janua* cited fully above. The copy

⁵ Op. cit. Chap. 8, par. 21.

given him by the unnamed friend, as is argued elsewhere, was in all likelihood the edition of Leipzig, 1617, which is textually cited by Comenius in his preface to his own *Janua*.

Of this, the first edition of the Irish *Janua* in Germany, no copy exists at the British Museum, the Bodleian and the Cambridge Libraries, or in Trinity College, Dublin. After inquiries made in the British Isles without any result, I was fortunate in finding a copy in the library of the University of Louvain. It is the last section of a volume entitled

Methodus Institutionis nova quadruplex:

I. M. Jo. Rhenii:

II. Nicodemi Frischlini:

III. Ratichii et Ratichianorum tergemina:

IV. Jesuitarum, vulgo Janua Linguarum dicta.

Published at Leipzig in 1617 under the general editorship of Rhenius, it was issued again, but without change, in 1626. That the 'Jesuits' new method' was commonly called '*Janua Linguarum*' would go to show that either the English edition of 1615 or the Salamanca edition of 1611 was fairly well known to German educators by 1617. The foreword, by Rhenius, is dated January 1, 1614 (=1615), and the date of the Introduction is June 17, 1617. Five-sixths of the whole Introduction bear on the *Janua Linguarum*, which is given last place in the body of the work. The use made of the Introduction of Rhenius by Comenius in 1631 is treated of in another chapter. It may here be noted that Rhenius borrows from Bathe's intro-

duction the comparison of the *Janua* to Noah's Ark: the simile is wrongly attributed by Mr. Keatinge⁶ to a later German editor of the Salamanca *Janua*. Rhenius also indicates his view that the *Janua* is not so well suited for beginners who are still of the school age. He reprinted the text of the Latin sentences only, but in the Introduction he takes occasion to point out the usefulness of a German rendering set on pages opposite the Latin text. A use of the *Janua* sentences, not contemplated by Bathe, suggests itself to the experienced teacher and author of school-books: it is to use a hundred sentences or so of the *Janua* as a means of testing the progress in Latin of youths, or even of persons with some pretensions to scholarship. This use was clearly meant by Rhenius as a supplemental one: Comenius, in 1631, rather unfairly makes Rhenius suggest it as the only one really profitable, and he then proceeds to declare the *Janua* no entrance gate at all, but rather a postern door. The re-handling of the Irish *Janua* by some German scholar of approved religious views is urged, as is noted elsewhere, by Rhenius. In such event, he points out, there is no need to put into the sentences all the words so placed by the Jesuits: the more unusual words can well find a place in subjoined letters, dialogues, and miscellaneous essays; and there need be no very scrupulous care to avoid repetition of terms, if their meanings are more than one for each. Besides the Latin sentences, this edition of 1617 contains the index of Latin words, with its heading as in the Salamanca edition: at the end the Jesuit motto *Ad majorem Dei gloriam* is added.

⁶ *The Great Didactic*, 1896, p. 20.

The contents of the other treatises included in the volume do not call for separate discussion here. But the Introduction of Rhenius, in the single paragraph not denoted to the Irish *Janua*, has an interesting allusion to the third part of the whole collection, 'the triple treatise of Ratke and his followers.' 'Wolfgangus Ratichius' is there described as a close friend of Rhenius, who received from him personally at Leipzig the three small tractates printed together as Part III. of the *Methodus nova quadruplex*. In handing them over (which he must have done before 1617), Ratke indicated one as his own, and described the other two as executed by friends and collaborators of his at Augsburg. Rhenius is careful to explain that he therefore credited these two tracts to the '*Ratichiani*.' Much of what the three essays contain may at first seem paradoxical, he admits: but if they are compared with nature, and if they are rightly applied in school-practice, they will be found to rest on a solid foundation. In view of the recent general criticism of the 'veritable legend' about Ratke as voiced, for instance, by Professor J. W. Adamson,⁷ and the charges of undue secrecy against one who claimed to be an 'innovator' before all else, the publication of these three tracts should be considered. The method of Ratke himself occupies pages 132--160 of Rhenius: it enters into considerable detail as to the initial processes of language teaching, such as syllabication, and proceeds to discuss the handling of Latin authors. Pages 161-206 give the method of his collaborators: in this portion, and not Ratke's own, are given the famous

⁷ *Pioneers of Modern Education*, Cambridge, 1905, pages 32 to 42.

Aphorisms. They thus appeared in print for the first time, not in 1626 as Quick states,⁸ but in 1617: Rhenius was the editor in both years.

Like the edition by Rhenius and the other *Janua* of Comenius, the German editions of the Irish *Janua*, issued at Strassburg by Isaac Habrecht, throw light on the earlier English editions of the book. Habrecht was a doctor of medicine to the service of Count Albert of Solms, to whom the two editions are dedicated. The edition which I found in the British Museum is that of 1629, and is in six languages—Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, English, set out in parallel columns across two pages of the book. The sentences alone in this *Janua sex linguarum* fill 320 pages. The Strassburg editor has brought the *Appendix de Ambiguis*, of Bathe's own edition, into the body of the text, setting them in numbered sequence to fill the gap between sentences 1041 and 1101. To the *Janua Linguarum Silinguis* there is also given a German title-page, whereon it is styled *Sechsfache Spraachen—Thur*. The index furnished by Habrecht covers Latin and German only, but it is a double one: it may be noted that the provision of an English-Latin index for the English editions was not thought of till Habrecht's editions had both appeared. This editor gives Bathe's Introduction in Latin and in German, as the original writer's own (*ex ipsius fundatoris ore*): but he omits silently the references therein to the utility of the work for missionaries in heathen lands, for confessors, for older candidates for Orders, and for persons desirous of knowing Latin for

⁸ *Educational Reformers*, ed. 1898, page 108.

liturgical use only. Later on he omits a sentence conveying the approbation of the project by a Jesuit colleague whom Bathe met at Padua. The omissions are exactly those occurring in the English issues; the whole of the eleven chapters on the nature and the use of the work, are also left out.

These omissions are, however, compensated for by an interesting preface. After strictures on the difficulty and the incompleteness of previous Introductions to the Latin language, Habrecht assigns the lack of fitting manuals as the reason why the Irish College of Salamanca fashioned this new, highly useful, and most commendable Gate of Tongues. The first Spanish edition of the work was no sooner seen by eminent and learned men (*primariis et doctis*) in the Kingdom of England, than their special praise secured for it in 1615 a translation into English. The success of the work in Spain and in England showed Habrecht that he need not be a pioneer in issuing it. He then specifically states that he was the maker of the French translation which in 1617—in Barbier's edition—made it a gate to four tongues (*Londini quadrilinguam anno 1617 primum reddidi . . . Gallicè loqui docui*). In Germany he found many eminent scholars, masters of several languages, well acquainted with the Irish *Janua*, which they warmly praised. But it lacked as yet a German dress, which he now supplies, together with the Italian version. This Italian version may very possibly be that which was entered at Stationers' Hall in January, 1614⁹; it was never printed in England. As a process of instruc-

⁹ See Chapter on English Editions.

tion, Habrecht enjoins the mastery of the Latin text through the German, double literal translation, and then a reading with reference to a short and clear German exposition of the rules of Latin Grammar. That issued some years before by Rhenius is mentioned as a model; and vehement censure is passed on current methods of grammar teaching. By way of crowning-piece to his own Introduction, he adds Bathe's general Introduction, "a few words fruitfully drawn from the vast treasures" of the Irish *Janua*.

I have not been able to see a copy of the earlier edition by Habrecht, issued at Strassburg in 1624. It was briefer than that of 1629, for it contained four languages only---Latin, German, French, and Spanish. It is contained in Nolte's list of commendable Latin text-books.¹⁰ A German version is also found in the editions which were primarily Italian; it will be noticed in the chapter dealing with them. Throughout the seventeenth century the Irish *Janua* maintained its position in many German schools; it was not driven out by the increasing number of editions of the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* of Comenius, which after 1631 competed with it for scholastic support. In the chapter on the *Janua* and its critics, evidence is given of the credit it enjoyed in the world of German classical scholarship. At the close of the seventeenth and the opening of the eighteenth century, two other school editions showed that the demand for the Irish *Janua* was not yet exhausted. Both contained modifications of order and method which reflect the changes of view as to

¹⁰ *Bibliotheca Latinitatis restitutae*, ed. Leipzig, 1768: p. 256.

language method at that time. In 1682, John Ernest Bythner published at Stad the *Compendiaria Latinitatis via*: it consisted of the sentences of the Irish *Janua*, taken from the *Mercurius Bilinguis* of Schoppe, and rearranged so as to provide groups of sentences exemplifying single grammatical rules. And at Frankfurt on the Oder, in 1708, P. G. Schulze used the materials provided by William Bathe to offer the school-world of the day his “*Vorschlag: wie man einem das Latein in einem Jahre beybringen könne.*”¹¹

¹¹ Nolte, op. cit., p. 415.

CHAPTER VII.

English Editions of the *Janua*: 1615—1645.

THE interesting account given by Comenius¹ of the interview of two English noblemen, with William Bathe at Valladolid, in the spring of 1605, also informs us that the copy of the *Janua Linguarum* given by Bathe to his visitors was published through their agency in England, with an English and a French version. The reason given for this apparent violation of an author's natural rights is one that seems to have had a wide application, especially among school-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Inventio digna habita est*, says Comenius, *quae tenebris premi non permitteretur*. We shall see conspicuous instances of this free use of Bathe's treatise in Germany and in Italy: but the English 'conveyances' of it were in some respects less scrupulous than those which took place on the Continent even after 1700.

The date of this first English publication of the Salamanca *Janua* is not assigned by Comenius, though from his citation of a portion of the usual title he would appear to have had it before him. The date usually assigned is 1615, as given by Mr. Keatinge.² A search

1 *Novissima Linguarum Methodus*: par. 20, ed. 1657.

2 *The Great Didactic*, ed. 1896, page 19.

through Arber's monumental Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, 1554-1640 (London, 1876) has resulted in the discovery of the following interesting entry:

29 Januarii 1613 [i.e. 1614].

Entred for his coppie under the hand of master warden ffield to be printed when it is further allowed a booke called Janua Linguarum the gate of languages sive modus quo patefit aditus ad omnes linguas intelligendas industria Patrum Hibernorum societatis Jesu &c. Latine Anglice Gallice Italice Hispanice, conversa velim (*sic*: perhaps *vel in*) alias linguas quascunque vjd.

The marginal note in the Register, at this entry, is as follows:

Master Matthew Lownes. This coppie was afterwards authorised, vnder Master Masons hand, 27 Septembris 1614.³

The consideration whether the book so entered should be 'further allowed' thus took some eight months, and some important alterations in the project seem to have been made in the interval. But the entry at least made it clear that steps for the publication were being taken in 1613 and throughout 1614: and so it is not unlikely that an edition did appear in 1615. Professor Foster Watson⁴ assigns the appearance of Welde's edition of the Salamanca *Janua* to that year. In the Quick Collection there is a volume undated, certainly one of the Welde editions, and not

³ Arber, Vol. III., p. 248.

⁴ *Educational Times*, 1894: p. 322.

identical with the later dated editions to be afterwards described. Written on the flyleaf is the note "1615. R.H.Q."; it may be added that the copy belonged to "A. B. M. Browne," and that Master Browne indulged in the schoolboy's privilege of fragmentary repetition of his name. Probably this volume did belong to the edition of 1615: but I have not been able to inspect any copy so dated on the title-page. The contents of the volume coincide with the later Welde editions; but there are some differences in the setting-up of the Preface. Another copy of this Welde version of the *Janua* is in the Cambridge University Library. The half of the title-page which contained the date is missing: the book is certainly not the issue of either 1621 or 1623.

The earliest copy, now bearing a date, in any of the great libraries of the United Kingdom is that of the 1617 edition, in the British Museum. The title is as follows:

JANVA LINGVARVM Quadrilinguis, or a Messe
of Tongues, Latin, English, French, and Spanish.
Neatly served up together, for a wholesome repast, to
the worthy curiositie of the studious. Londini
excudebat R.F. impensis Matthaei Lownes—
MDCXVII.

A manuscript note tells us of this edition: "This is an exceedingly scarce book. No copy is to be found in the British Museum (1863) nor in the Bodleian catalogues (1843). It is quite different to the 'Gate of Tongues' (1639) by Comenius." The difference of the two *Januae* is also noted in writing by R. H. Quick; but is, as shall be

seen, overlooked more than once by the makers of the catalogues referred to in the note.

The Preface "To the English Reader, studious of the best languages," is signed "Io. Barbier, Parisiensis"; and the initials I. P. B. are subscribed to the dedication To the Prince (Charles, Prince of Wales). The brief but helpful text of the dedication is written in thoroughly Euphuistic style; and after describing the book as "this rare invention, this Maisterpiece of Curious Schollership," goes on to describe the Prince of Wales as "a Maister-Prince, and right Principall Scholler." The book is such as to "challenge Princely Patronage," and "being in Duplicitie praised for usefulesse, admired for industrie, in this now Quadruplicitie" presented to the Prince "on this auspicious New-Yeares Day."

The New-Year's Day in question would appear to be March 25, 1617, in our reckoning: and the date would explain how the *Janua Quadrilinguis* in one copy on record, is described as printed in London by Matthew Lownes, 1616.⁵ The terms "in Duplicitie admired for industrie" is explained by the subsequent "in Quadruplicitie," which obviously refers to the four languages in which the text of the sentences is given in 1617. Hence we have an additional clue to the appearance of a previous edition in Latin and English only: it would be the edition by Welde in 1615. And in the Advertisement, Barbier explains that in "adding the two languages," he sought "to render the volume yet as

⁵ J. G. T. Graesse: *Tresor de Livres Rares et Precieux*, Dresden, 1862. Vol. III., p. 452.

portable as might be." The addition must have been to a previous issue; otherwise the Advertisement would here be pointless. His desire to have the four-language edition "if not as a manuall or pocket-booke, yet a Pectorall or bosom-booke, to be carried twixt jerkin and doublet," led Barbier, as he also explains, to omit "the ten chapters which in the other booke, precede the Centuries." The "other booke" must therefore have been previously known and in circulation in England. He explains the omission (not made in the supposed copy of the 1615 issue), on the ground that the ten chapters are "but a meere discourse of the author, touching the method by him used about compiling of the same"; the omission being "wholly immaterial to the learner, being rather to profite by this already invented Frame, than hereby taught how to compose the like." The volume of 1617 contains, however, Bathe's *Prooemium*, the "Addition" of words that have divers constructions, and the index of Bathe, enlarged to include four languages. The sentences are Bathe's Latin and Spanish, added to only by way of translation.

From his address "To the English Reader, studious of the best languages," it seems that Barbier was a teacher of languages, chiefly of French, successful in his work in England. He chose the Salamanca *Janua*, as having "in elegant sentences" a "special furtherance" for his professional purposes: and we learn from him that "hitherto there is not any book extant in our and the English tongue together, worthy" the reader's acceptance. His own contribution was the French rendering of the sentences, and the French portion of the Index: the *Janua Linguarum*,

he says, "is already in three languages," though seemingly published only in English and in Latin.

The two dated copies of the version of the Salamanca *Janua* by William Welde, which I have been able to inspect, are the issue of 1621, in the British Museum, and that of 1623, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Both contain the Latin and English sentences only, though Welde claims to have translated from the Spanish. The volume of 1623 is expressly styled, on the title-page, "Editio Quinta," just as the next edition, 1626, is "Editio Sexta." The four English editions previous to 1623 would accordingly appear to be the following:

1615. *Janua Linguarum*. Ed. Welde.

1616. *Janua Linguarum Quadrilinguis*. Ed. Barbier. (Cited in Graesse).

1617. *Janua Linguarum Quadrilinguis*. Ed. Barbier. Reprinted.

1621. *Janua Linguarum*. Ed. Welde.

It is true that Comenius⁶ says that the first English edition was in Latin, English, and French, and that Barbier mentions a version in Latin, English, and Spanish as existing. But he does not mention it as published, while he does distinctly allude to a two-language copy as already before the public prior to 1617. That manuscript versions in all four languages, and in Italian as well, were "allowed" at Stationers' Hall is shown by the entry cited above from the Register. It is therefore doubtful if Comenius alluded to a three-language edition, since he had

⁶ Op. cit., par. 20.

already spoken of the Latin sentences and the Spanish version of them as shown by Bathe in Spain in 1605.

It may have been noted that the entry on the Stationers' Register showed that the title of the projected English issue of the *Janua* contained the words "*industria Patrum Hibernorum societatis Jesu*," the following "&c." would indicate that the rest of the original title, stating that they belonged to the Irish College of Salamanca, apparently followed them. The fact that the book was only "to be printed when further allowed," an allowance being delayed till eight months later, may have been connected with these words in the title. The sanction, by authority in London, of the publication of any book expressly said to be by Jesuits, more especially by Irish Jesuits in charge of an Irish College on Spanish soil, was utterly improbable. And the omissions made in all English editions would strengthen this view. All the title-pages, from 1615 to 1645, lack any indicated authorship such as is shown in the Register of Stationers' Hall. Every allusion whatever to authorship by a Jesuit, or to the issue of the book at Salamanca, is carefully excised from the Preface and Introduction of Bathe, when these are reprinted. Barbier does not mention the author's name. For fair reason he omitted those chapters of the Introduction, wherein Bathe gives details as to the origin and purpose of the book, and as to those who helped him in its preparation. Welde and his successors give these chapters, but make special omissions in the course of the English version in which they are alone presented. The most notable changes are:—

(1.) Of Chapter 9 of Bathe's text, about two-thirds are omitted. It is made to state briefly that many men of experience besought the inventor to publish the work, and that their entreaty greatly stimulated him towards completing and printing it. The abbreviated chapter still corresponds to its title: *De Impressione*. But all the details as to Bathe's communications on the subject with a Venetian Jesuit, and all reference to the use of the work on Indian and other foreign missionary enterprises, are carefully excised, no trace of their presence in any version being left.

(2.) In Chapter 4 of the Introduction is found the allusion to the collection of words for the *Janua*, according to the "*status discipulorum operam litteris humanioribus in Belgio navantium, ubi et ipse [verborum selector] amocnum studiorum stadium percucurrit.*"

The version of this passage furnished by Welde is the following:—

"The methods of such scholars as study morall learning at Bauvais, where he himself likewise ran the pleasant race of study."

For some obscure reason 'humanities' become 'morall learning'; and Bathe's place of study and linguistic observation is changed from Belgium (Tournai) to Beauvais in France. The alterations by Welde are found in all subsequent English editions.

The quotations made from Barbier's edition point clearly

to that version being destined for gentlemen of good social standing, who desired to acquaint themselves with the foreign languages most needed at the time. The other English editions are on a more modest scale, and give the Latin and vernacular texts only. They were obviously meant for school use, and as stated above, the presumed copy of the 1615 edition belonged to a schoolboy. The British Museum copy of Welde's edition (the 4th) of 1621 furnishes definite and interesting proof that the copy in question was used as a school-book during the Puritan Revolution. On the dedication page is written:—

This booke my father did me give,
And I will keep it as long as I live.
Whose booke it is if you would knowe
A riting plaine I would you shew

George Morris his booke Anno dom. 1645

The hallowed formularies of school tradition vary but little down the centuries. The copy of the 1623 edition in Trinity College, Dublin, seems to have belonged to two scholar brothers twenty years after its appearance: it is inscribed

Thomas Cooke, his booke
James Cooke, his booke 1643
James Cooke, his booke 1643;

and on the last page is the name "Zy Hudson," with the significant term "ananiaſ" written after it. The 1626 edition bears the name of Aegidius Hollington, who wrote it twice, but at the second attempt gave up the effort

before 'gton' called for his exertions. Finally, of the 1645 edition there are two copies in the British Museum. One is very well preserved, and bears the inscription "Sum exlibris Henrici Marchant." The other is well worn, and belonged to two schoolboys at various times: Edmund Wright and John Good. The former records three times that he bought the book in 1667.

The dedication which is found in all copies of Welde's edition, without alteration, throws some light on the exact work done by Welde, and on the attribution to him of an edition prior to Barbier's in 1617. The important portion of it is as follows:

To the Right Worshipfull my singular good Master,
Clement Edmonds, Esquire, Clerk of his Maiesties
Most honourable Privie Councell.

Sir,

Having by your favour got the sight and use of a booke called *Janua Linguarum*, composed in Latine and Spanish, and finding it so rare a curiositie, and so useful for the ready and speedy understanding of the Latin tongue, I thought it worth my labour to put the Spanish into English

Clement Edmonds, Professor Foster Watson has told us, was well known for his *Observations on the first five books of Caesar's Commentaries*, published in 1600. From the *Calendar of State Papers*⁷ it may be seen that Edmonds became Clerk of the Council, for life, in 1609: that he was

⁷ Domestic Series, Vols. for 1603-10, 1611-18, and Addenda for 1580-1625.

Sir Clement Edmondes by April 1618, though not yet in possession of a title in July 1617. Welde must have addressed his dedication before April, 1618, and had it printed off with the form "Clement Edmonds," before the title was conferred. Once set up in type, there was no change made in the style of the dedication, even as late as 1623. The copy used by Welde was evidently the editio princeps of Salamanca, 1611: it was not a manuscript, but a book. His task was simply the replacing of the Spanish by an English version. And the English version by Welde remained dominant in the four subsequent English editions to which other names are attached.

The first and second of the editions after 1623 were published under the care of John Harmar (d. 1670) a former demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Greek during the whole of the Commonwealth period. When his edition of Bathe's *Janua* appeared in 1626, he was, as à Wood tells us, and as his title-page makes equally clear, 'chief master' (*Magister Primarius*) of the free school at St. Albans. Subsequently he was under-master of Winchester 'College School,' and through it and other 'petite pedagogical employments' he made his way, under favour of the Cromwells, to the University Professorship. But à Wood, who loved not the Commonwealth, yet admits his claims to scholarship: and in connection with the *Janua Linguarum* his testimony that Harmar 'was happy in rendering Greek into Latin, or Latin into English, or English into Greek, or Latin, whether in prose or verse,' has its significance. The very title-page of the *Janua*, as altered by Harmar,

bears evidence of his claim to be somewhat of a Ciceronian and an adept in 'style.' It runs in part as follows :

Janua Linguarum, sive methodus et Ratio Compendiaria et facilis ad omnes Linguas, ad Latinam vero maxime, viam aperiens. In qua usitatoria totius Linguae Latinae vocabula tantum non omnia, tam simplicia quam composita, duodecim versiculorum centuriis continentur; nullo fere, nisi ad implendam in imperfectione sensus lacunam, repetito.

The new editor, in fact, put into periodic structure in his reformed title, a description of the Salamanca *Janua* as Bathe had defined it in his Introduction. The new, or sixth edition, is also claimed to be freer from error, more full in explanation, and richer in general contents. The publisher is H. Lownes, and it is dedicated, no longer to the Prince of Wales (now Charles I.), nor to the Clerk of the Privy Council, but to a courtier of lower degree, Master William Salter, 'one of His Majesty's Carvers in Ordinarie.' In the address to the reader, Harmer notes in detail his own improvements on a work 'sufficiently commended both by diverse experiments, and by five editions past.' He had, he said, given both the 'proper and improper' sense of the Latin words; he meant, of course, in the way of grammatical science. The translation he made 'more significant and correspondent to the Latin, and more clearly to reflect on it.' Unusual and obsolete words are 'swept out': better ones, 'more occur-rent in the Classiques,' are supplied. It is even hinted that Bathe's Latinity, Oxonian though it was and of

Edmund Campion's day, was coloured by its English connections: 'Many Anglicisms are prun'd from the Latin.' The stylist has tried his hand at bettering the structural form: for 'many connexive particles, which must otherwise have been subunderstood, are supplied,' though they are 'left within brackets.' And the practical schoolmaster shows his hand also: 'the Learner is directed to construe by letters pointing out the grammatical position and sequence of the words.'

This last modification points to the book having definitely found its way into English schools, for use in the very rudiments of Latin teaching. Indeed Harnmar claims that it is now 'accommodated to the meanest capacity,' and has no doubts but that it will displace other beginner's books, which he disrespectfully styles 'elementary trash.' He gives as his opinion that the use of the *Janua* will enable 'the learner, with much ease, to read any of the Classiques,' and so to write and speak proper Latin. In all substantials the text of Bathe remains unchanged: but he has observed that the gap in the eleventh century of the sentences is really due to the placing of the 'words with diverse meanings' in a separated 'Appendix de Ambiguis.' The latter are now numbered 1 to 59, to supply the defect in the body of the text. The copy of this sixth edition, in the British Museum, is, as mentioned above, a schoolboy's copy.

In the Bodleian Library is a copy of Harnmar's recension of the *Janua*, bearing date 1631, and described on a new title-page of English text as "the seventh edition, by the care and study of I. H." It is printed by R. Young, and

sold by George Latham at the Sign of the Bishops Head in Pauls Churchyard, and has the dedication of the sixth edition unaltered. There is also in the Bodleian an uncut copy of the sixth edition, with a special page of errata promised, though not supplied. The result of Harmar's labours was evidently appreciated in English schools, for in less than three years after the seventh edition, the same publisher put on the market the eighth edition, of which an unused copy is in the Bodleian Library. Considerable alterations are made on all previous issues by the new editor, Thomas Horne, who, like Bathe and Harmar, was an Oxford man. Before his death in 1654 he had been Headmaster of Eton for some six years, after his expulsion from Magdalen College during the troubled times of 1648. Previously he had been Headmaster of Tunbridge School, and, earlier still, of the free school in Leicester. His reputation as a writer of useful school-books, not merely of the 'manual' type, was still high on the Continent even in the middle of the following century, chiefly owing to his *Manuductio in academ Palladis* (London, 1641). Especially were his ethical rules, for the ordering of a master's personal life and class-room bearing, cited and approved. They form, indeed, a most rational and Christian 'examination of conscience' on pedagogic defects.

The additions made by Horne, and found both in the eighth edition, 1634, and the ninth and last English edition, 1645, added considerably to the size of the book. Besides an additional English-Latin index, the declension and the parts of speech for each word are specially noted.

The sentences of Bathe are retained as left by Harmar, but a large mass of new matter, numbered as sentences 1042 to 1400, is added, and credited to T. Poole or Pole. As a result the eighth edition could well be described on the title-page as 'more compleat than the former.'

The difficulties of sentence-structure and obscurity of meaning into which Bathe recognised that he had got long before the close of his 1200th sentence, appear not to have deterred Horne's assistant. Professor Foster Watson indeed says⁸ that Poole's work is cleverly done: and this may well be conceded: it was a real tour-de-force to produce any further sentences at all, and in view of the vocabulary used, the range of school Latinity in England under Charles I. and the Commonwealth must have been very comprehensive. Some of the sentences are simple enough, as for instance

(From 'An alteration of the twelfth Century.')

1115. Deploranda est bardorum colluvies.

Translated:

The shamefull abundance of dunces is to be lamented;
and

(From the 'Centuria duodecima nova.')

1276. Theander Lutherus Roterodamo philosopho
fuit coetaneus,

an assertion which Bathe might have admitted, with an alteration of the adjective in each case. But other pieces

⁸ *Educational Times*, 1894, page 324.

of information furnished by Horne and Poole stand much in need of the appended translation, as

1268. Malluvium cum pelluvio collutulat monetarius.

The moneycoiner confounds the hand bason with the foot bason.

1368. Galbulis et turdelis exitiosae sunt tendiculae.

Springes are hurtfull to woodwalls and black-birds.

At the end of Poole's additions is placed Bathe's Appendix de Ambiguis, the clauses of which are numbered 1401 to 1462.

The Latin address by Horne to his readers opens with emphatic testimony to the usefulness of the *Salamanca Janua* in school-work both in England and on the Continent:

Non solem facibus (Lectores) adjuturi sumus, nec toties actum acturi; satis vel lippis resplendivit hujuscemodi libelli usus, sicut eruditorum experimentis comprehenditur . . . Post varios aliorum et non inutiles conatus, huic Januae Linguarum supremam manum admovimus . . . Versuum genera inseruntur, hisce signis notata, quod in prioribus editionibus a transmarinis pluribus desiderabatur.

Evidently then the *Salamanca Janua*, edited anew in England nine times in thirty years, was in use not only in English but also in (to use Dury's phrase) the 'transmarine school' also. The connections of Harmar and Horne, as is obvious from their position during the Puritan Revolution, would naturally be with the school of educa-

tional writers in which Hartlib, Dury, and Comenius are outstanding names. The schools with which they would be in touch would therefore be those which were in the cities and districts travelled by each of these notable Puritan missionaries, from Amsterdam and Frankfort to Elbing, Dantzic, and Lissa. Horne himself, in his Preface to the 1634 edition of Bathe's *Janua*, makes the connection clear, though in a way naively calculated to spoil the market for his edition of the Irish Jesuits' sentences:

Hoc denique (Lectores) vos monitos velimus auream
J. A. Comenii Januam, ab ipso autore quam plurimum ornatam, et nativo splendori restitutam, jam sub praelo esse. Valete. T.H.

The promise, owing to no alteration being made in the Latin text, is repeated in the ninth edition of the Irish *Janua* eleven years later. Horne evidently disapproved of the edition of Comenius' book by Anchoran, of which the second edition, 1633, and the fourth, 1640, are in the Bodleian Library. I have not been able to trace with certainty the edition mentioned by Horne as in the press: he does not quite vouch that it will be prepared by himself, and the addition to the Address to the Readers may well be by another and perhaps rival editor or publisher. The whole English bibliography of the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* needs careful revision: it is not properly dealt with even in the elaborate and painstaking works of Kvacala.⁹ Even the English *editio princeps*

⁹ J. A. Comenius Correspondenz. Prag: Kaiserl. Franz. Josephs Akademie, 1898—1902. J. A. Comenius: Sein leben und seine Schriften: Berlin, 1904.

does not seem to have as yet been determined. It has been assigned as the *editio secunda* by Anchoran, 1633, just mentioned: the assumption being that the first Continental edition was counted as preceding it. This is sufficiently disproved by the copy of the *second* edition, Leipzig, 1632, to be seen in Trinity College Library, Dublin. It seems to be the earliest edition in a public library in the British islands, and has much matter expressly admitted as not to be found in the first edition.

Much confusion, too, exists in important catalogues of libraries between the later English editions of the Salamanca *Janua*, and the earlier editions of the quite different *Janua Linguarum Reserata* of Comenius. The result has uniformly tended to hide the existence of the former from English writers on educational history. Thus in the British Museum Catalogue¹⁰ copies of Horne's 1645 edition of Bathe's work are wrongly credited to J. A. Komensky. And in the Bodleian Catalogue¹¹ is the entry: "Horne Thomas, A.M. Edidit anno 1634 Januam Linguarum Joh. A. Comenii, q.v." Reference to the volume indicated showed, under "Comenius, J. A." a summary of the 1634 title-page of Horne's edition of Bathe's *Janua*: the additions by Poole, and the fact that it was the eighth edition, are set out.¹² A reference to the opposite page of the catalogue would have shown that the fourth edition of Comenius' book did not appear till 1640 in English; so a *Janua* of which the eighth English edition appeared in 1634 could not possibly be his. Even

¹⁰ 12932, aa. 21, 26.

¹¹ Vol. 38, fol. 95.

¹² Bodl. Catal. c. 47. fol. 243.

in the new catalogue of Early Printed Books at Cambridge,¹³ the same misdirection occurs. In the indexes both the *Janua Linguarum* and the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* are credited to J. A. Comenius. Reference to the two corresponding entries in the actual catalogue shows that the former is the eighth edition of Bathe's *Janua*, 1634; and the latter the fourth edition of Comenius' *Janua*, 1638. Both editions are by Thomas Horne.

The usual number of copies in an edition of a school-book at this period was 1250: the conventional arrangements of printers prevented any approach to the larger editions of more recent times. Within the thirty years, therefore, since its first appearance in English dress in 1615, the Irish *Janua* went through nine editions, numbering 11,000 copies. Two of these editions were published after the appearance of the *Janua Reserata* of Comenius in English; and one of the two was issued at least twelve years later than that work. The Irish *Janua*, too, is shown to have been mainly produced in English for school use: its later editions, at least, were the work of practising schoolmasters of good academic standing, and to its use in schools long after the Restoration we have the best of all testimony, the notable frequency of the schoolboy's name and vagrant pen in the few copies to be seen in the three principal libraries in England and Ireland. The Puritan associates of Comenius in his "scholastic endeavours" knew it well. John Johnston says he had seen it previous to his interviews with

¹³ Early Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge, 1475-1640. By C. M. Sayle. Vol. IV., p. 96, with Vol. II., p. 1089, and Vol. III., pp. 1092-3.

Comenius in 1627, and that before he urged on Comenius some improvements in the undeveloped plan of the latter's *Janua*. Kvascala¹⁴ cites a letter of Hartlib in which, writing to Tassius, he points out that the *Mercurius Bilinguis* of Caspar Schoppe is derived from the Spanish *Janua*, and belongs to the forerunners of the *Janua Reserata* of Comenius. The latter had in its favour in England a political party powerful even in the scholastic world by 1630, and dominant in London, literary and political alike, within a few years. The school-book produced by Irish Jesuits in Spain would have had no sale in England under any guise, were not its merits quite distinctive. And that its Puritan editors from 1626 to 1645 left much of its incidental Catholicity unchanged, despite the monitions of Rhenius as early as 1617, is additional testimony to the worth of a volume which throughout its English career was not suffered to give the slightest indication that its author was an Irishman educated in Oxford; for he was also a member of a proscribed religious order, and was a director, on Spanish soil, of a college founded by Philip II. for the education of Irish Catholics.

14 Op. cit. II. 59.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Portuguese Edition of the *Janua*.

AN edition of the Irish *Janua* was published in Lisbon, in 1623, containing information which is of some value in regard to the history of Bathe's treatise. The *Porta de Linguas* was prepared from the Salamanca first edition by Dom Mauro de Roboredo, and was ready for the press as early as 1620: this is shown by the license of the Inquisition, cited fully in the well-preserved copy of the work which is in the British Museum. The Portuguese edition is dedicated to Francisco de Castelbranco, Count of Sabugal and Governor of the Castle of Santarem. The editor gives no indication of his own rank or occupation; he simply describes himself as a Portuguese. There is a lengthy preface, in which de Roboredo shows himself expert in school practice, and interested in the comparative values of language methods. He informs anyone who would form an opinion on the work (*Hujus Artificii Judici*) that excellent critics had confirmed the views of Spanish scholars and educators in the Salamanca edition, and given its inventor special praise for his design. His own purpose is to extend the usefulness of the original edition by adding, on its own expressed plan, a Portuguese

version. A manual by Roboredo himself was approaching completion when he received a copy of Bathe's. He at once laid aside his own work, and reduced it to the position of a supplemental treatise or dictionary giving root-forms. In Bathe's sentences he made some additions which would be of use in schools. They are unlike in character those which Harmar and Horne inserted in the later English editions. Numerical signs are used to connect the Latin and Portuguese equivalent words. The same simple device is used to connect both these languages with the Spanish version. Roboredo had also, as his preface tells us, proved by actual experiment that the plan of Bathe is far more fruitful than the type of school-manual providing sentences which are really classified vocabularies, *de re domestica, forensi, militari, nautica*, etc. The Irish *Janua*, indeed, is said to give better results in six months than the *via trivialis* does in four years: this Roboredo confirmed by experiment on himself. It is also a highly useful method for acquiring a good vocabulary of usual words. In his school exercises he made a practice of requiring the learners, after memorising the Salamanca sentences, to deal with their Latin reading by explicit citation of the sentence containing the word the author was using. He regards as '*deliramenta*' the acquisition of a vocabulary on subjects not familiar to learners, as naval and military operations, while familiar things (*nomina illarum rerum, quas assidue contrahant*) are quite unknown to them. Inefficient teachers are so much taken up with matters of no moment, that even verse-making and scansion are held by them to be necessary elements of human intercourse.

The real knowledge of Latin is neglected, and so students enter on professional studies with an equipment quite unsuitable for their purpose.

Roboredo, however, aimed at something more than a mere re-editing of Bathe's text. We know from the preface to the edition of 1611, that a supplemental publication, dealing with unusual words, and also with words connected with those in the first draft of the vocabulary, was in contemplation. This portion of the work was carried out by Roboredo independently, and with considerable success. His previous work was here used as a quarry from which to draw material. To the 5302 words which are in Bathe's sentences—he found that only three words had been really repeated—he appended in useful form no less than 17,214 '*colligibilia*,' that is, compounds deriving from simpler words, verbs deriving from nouns, and the like.¹ These additional words were not allowed to enter into the sentence scheme: they were grouped in sets within the vocabulary, each set being appended to the 'fundamental' word to which it was related. Such a classified dictionary Roboredo knew to be desired by men of letters in Portugal: and in furnishing it he was effectively carrying out the design of William Bathe, while 'giving back to Spain her *Janua* corrected and enlarged.'

A special test was applied by the Lisbon editor to see if Bathe's scheme was really as complete in extent as it professed to be. The omitted sentences (1042—1100) were taken as a field for investigation. Roboredo went over

¹ *Manuductio*, par. 48.

Calepinus, to collect terms which would be both usual and fundamental, as material wherewith to fill the gap left by the workers at Salamanca. The result was that he found a certain number of words, and did construct sentences. He confesses however, that in almost every case the words so gathered were either unusual, or were rather Greek technical terms, than the type which alone could claim admission on the Irish model. He prints the sentences, and of them two will serve as specimens:—

1043. Post Februarii Idus bissextus intercalatur.

1061. Smaragdus et pyropus in obrizo illigati
renident.

The other words used are even more recondite: and Roboredo rightly concludes: *verum qui voluerit aedificium reddere sublimius, etiamsi haec jacta fundamenta inveniat, insudaturus est.*²

The whole of Bathe's preliminary tractate is reprinted by Roboredo without any alteration or omission. On the practical use of the sentences he gives detailed directions: they form another supplement to the Salamanca plan, a supplement carrying out Bathe's own intentions. The tractate by the latter had indicated the further need of a scheme for the cultivation of Latin style, based on the sentences. Such a method is propounded by Roboredo: its chief elements are as follows:—

- (1) Learn every day some of the sentences, and have them simply explained ('Some schoolmasters expound poets and prose writers, not for beginners, but for themselves').

² *Manuductio*, par. 70.

- (2) Build up from them speeches. (*Oratiunculae*).
 (3) Give the inflexions of all nouns and verbs in the sentences, and modify them by changes of case and tense only. The master will set out for elaboration one Latin period, made up of two sentences already known.

For example, from the fifth and sixth sentences:

[5. Facile est inventis adhere.

6. Deteriora pertinacius haerent.]

he can construct a period in imitation of them, such as

Facile addam rem deteriore pertinacius
 adhaerere, et quae foedissima sunt, ea difficilius
 aboleri.

From the eighth sentence

[8. Virtus laudata crescit, et honos alit artes.]

can be constructed the period

Quemadmodum honores semper alunt artes, ita
 laudatae artes virtutem prorsus alent, ut in suo
 principio facile crescat.

- (4) These types of clauses are to be noted in all authors read: every effort must be made to build up constructions and style on the model of these writers.
 (5) A teacher will also point out to the learner some historical writer in the vernacular; the substance of his work should be gradually rendered into Latin.
 (6) The interest excited by these living methods of teaching will obviate all need of the usual stimuli in schools—reprehension, abusive words, and corporal punishment. A resourceful and devoted teacher

will easily be able to do more with the methods of encouragement—generous rivalry, praise, and rewards, when his scholars are working without compulsion.³

The text of the sentences is far more effectively pounded in Roboredo than in any other edition of the Irish *Janua*. Indeed this Lisbon issue of 1623, in printing and general *format*, would be a model school-book even to-day. The arrangement of the sentences is also worthy of note, as it is the only copy of the *Janua Linguarum* with three languages. On the right-hand page of the open book the Latin text stands alone, boldly printed and well spaced. On the left-hand page the Portuguese corresponding sentences are printed in smaller type; under each is given its Spanish equivalent as in the Salamanca copy. The key-numbers, indicating those words which are equivalent, are of course common to all three sentences in each group.

The second part of Roboredo's *Porta de Linquas* is dated 1621, and is entitled

‘Radices sermonis Latini demonstratae in tractatulo
et dictionario’:

it extends over 440 octavo pages. It is, as has been indicated, a digest of the ‘usual’ Latin vocabulary, followed by a double translation into Portuguese and Spanish. The words of the Salamanca *Janua* are arranged alphabetically, each with its reference number added. Related words and phrases are then added. The quantities of all vowels, in both the fundamental and the derived words, are carefully and clearly shown. Notable turns of

³ *Manuductio ad sententias*, paragraphs 77—86.

phrase are also inserted, and the fundamental words have their derivations added in very many cases, according to the philology of the day.

As a specimen of this classified Dictionary of Roboredo, I subjoin his treatment of one of the very few words which Bathe had used twice in his sentences.

Ãciēs, ei. f. 614. Ponta, ou fio de ferro agudo agudezade ferramenta. *Hisp*: punta, o hilo de cosa aguda.

836. Esquadrao exercito cosposto, agudeza de vista, e de ingenho. *Hisp*: esquadron, aguderza, ingenio.

Vide acuo.

Si ad oculos—aciem exercere, dirigere, deflectere, abducere, perstringere, praestringere, hebescere.

Si ad bellum—aciem exornare, instruere, instituere, statuere, dirigere, collocare, firmare, erigere, porrigere, promovere, sistere, inclinare. In aciem procedere, prodire, educere, producere. Acie excedere.

The combination of elementary work on word-forms, with systematic treatment of periodic structure, based on Bathe's sentences, is the special feature of the Lisbon edition of the *Janua*. In scarcely any books of the kind are detailed directions given for their use in school practice: even Comenius withholds all such aid in the *Janua Reserata*, and inserted them only in his ill-advised attempts to re-cast and enlarge his original work. The addition of a phraseological vocabulary, of so complete and practical type, may fairly be said to have made Roboredo's work the most effective text-book among all the editions of the Irish *Janua* which come under consideration in this

work. In both the provision made for the structural study of Latin periods, and the use of the developed vocabulary, there is no innovation. Neither is in any sense an excrescence on Bathe's plans; together they had the effect of showing how the Salamanca edition could be made a basis for Latin teaching calculated to provide not merely a vocabulary for the daily use of a learner, young or old, but also capable of imparting the best scholarship of a day when purity of classical idiom was so carefully cultivated over the whole of Western Europe. More than once Bathe in his prefatory tractate, had mentioned that he had these developments clearly in view: he would have rejoiced to see the task so thoroughly handled within the peninsula where he did so much good work. The treatise of Roboredo was, to the loss of many European schools, apparently destined to be scarcely known outside Portugal down to the present day.

CHAPTER IX.

Italian Editions of the *Janua Linguarum* (1628—1684).

THE origins of the Irish *Janua*, and its history as a work republished in England and in Northern Germany, are not without a degree of human interest that is remarkable for a work of its class. But in Italian dress, this work of William Bathe entered on a career far more dramatic than any as yet recorded about it. In a very strange way it was drawn into the last of the great wars in the history of post-Renaissance scholarship. How this came to be, is told by that prince among literary adventurers, Caspar Schoppe. The account I give is a rendering from his *Mercurius Bilinguis*.¹

“ When at Madrid in 1614, William Bathe was about to surrender his soul to God, he begged me by our friendship to take his invention into my faithful care. This took place two days before his death. Thereupon I undertook the task: it was the first cause of this publication. The second was that following the steps of that great dictator in the world of scholarship, Francis Sanchez, of Salamanca, I was dragging into light and casting out of schools more than three thousand errors, evil inventions

¹ Padua, 1637: copy in British Museum, p. 6 sq.

of grammarians. I wished to show that it would be of importance to Latin studies to have them taught and mastered both before and after Bathe's Sentences. I have set forth my views on this subject, with clearness and fulness of treatment, in my treatise: *Consultationes de Scholarum et Studiorum ratione*, lately published at Padua: and I need not repeat what I have there said."

In his remarks on the study of Italian² Schoppe goes on to say: "In 1613, I was about to start for Spain, to ask for assistance for the Confederated Catholics in Germany. Every day I used to commit to memory sixty sentences rendered into Spanish. Within twenty days I had all these sentences thoroughly mastered and memorised. . . . Others have already translated them into French, German, and English. Others again, on my advice, have made similar versions in Bohemian, Hungarian, and Slavonic: but I have not been able to obtain copies of them. As soon as I get them, I shall without delay try to help those who wish to learn these languages, as also those whose vernacular tongues they are. So the latter will be able, with the least expenditure of time and trouble, to learn any of those languages which this *Mercurius* of mine contains."

The long life (1576—1649) of Caspar Schoppe is the last, but not the least interesting chapter in the history of the professional gladiators who made the world of letters in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries as replete with battles and alarms, victories and disasters, as were the wars of nations and the religious conflicts of the

time. Born in the Upper Palatinate, a student of Heidelberg and other Universities, Schoppe first made his mark in that critical work on classical texts which was in such high repute at this period. So he came to be a close friend of Lipsius, and, like him, found his way into the Catholic Church, a very troublesome member of which he was to prove. From 1598 onwards he was engaged in an unending series of envenomed conflicts with the pen: in succession, Casaubon, the younger Scaliger, and the illustrious Gerard John Vossius were his victims. The series of pamphlets which resulted have been described by Mark Pattison as one which 'in extent, in its savage license, its ingenuity and audacity of fiction, has not its equal in extant literature.'³ For Casaubon he invented the name 'Cazobonus': Scaliger became 'Hypobolimaheus.' The period of conflict with the latter (1607—1617) was diversified by attacks on Lord Digby, the English Ambassador, with Sir Henry Wotton, at Madrid: he is politely defined in one pamphlet as *Legatus latro*. The parties attacked were well able to retort in kind. Scaliger was aided by Ruttgers and Heinsius: Peter Lambeck fixed on Schoppe the title that was always to be associated with him: *Canis Grammaticus* (grammatischen Hund). The snarling cur, however, had special knowledge of disguises, and under some sixteen varying pseudonyms (often such variations on his own, as *Scorpiacus*) he made himself 'the most telling and feared libeller of the day.' The closing years of his life saw a distinct change of attitude: the pamphleteer who defended Bellarmine against Hunnius,

³ Casaubon: London, 1875, p. 443.

who sounded the first note of opposition to the Edict of Nantes, who joined in the war of tracts against the German Protestants and their ally, King James of England, changed his objective long before the close of the Thirty Years' War, and from 1632 to 1648 poured out a long series of attacks on the Jesuits. Their general policy was as much impugned as their conduct of schools: and in connection with these Famien Strada, the eminent Jesuit historian of the Netherlands, was fiercely attacked as a poor Latinist, in the '*Infamia Famiani*.' Strada was defended by Protestant scholars of Northern Germany, such as the brothers Andrew and Olaf Borrichius. The orthodoxy of Schoppe, impugned by Le Tellier in France, had the peculiar but distinguished honour of being defended by the great Arnauld himself.

No small portion of this second great campaign of Schoppe was fought round the series of volumes for the study of Latin and other languages, which issued from his pen between 1625 and 1640: and the basis of his plan was the various editions of his '*Mercurius*.' Of this volume the whole contents were the sentences of the Irish *Janua* of 1611, translated into other languages by Schoppe and his literary associates. His account of how he came to be a kind of literary executor of the Irish Jesuit is cited above: it must be set down to the credit of the '*Canis Grammaticus*' that he always gave full credit to Bathe as the author of the plan he was converting to his own purposes. Indeed not a few of the facts about the origins of the Irish *Janua* we owe to Schoppe's own published account: they have been used at an earlier point in this

volume. And he recommended the use of the original Salamanca edition of 1611, published by Bathe and his friends, quite as freely as he did his own reissues of it. Thus in the *Consultationes*, of which the preface has already been quoted, he advises⁴ that Spanish can be learned with great ease, if the learner would procure the volume entitled *Janna Linguarum* published at Salamanca. It contains, he says, Latin and Spanish sentences on opposite pages. A student who has no teacher can yet, if he commit the sentences to memory, acquire enough Spanish in one month to enable him to both understand Spanish books, and compose in Spanish a letter by no means contemptible in point of style.

It was a strange alteration of policy and interests which brought Caspar Schoppe away from the high controversies of politics, war, and religion, to publish a whole series of works for use in language teaching. He had, however, begun his literary career in the field of classical scholarship, and his antagonists in the first period of pamphleteering were conspicuous as scholars on the classical and on the religious sides alike. During his years of residence in Rome and in the cities of northern Italy he made the acquaintance of men devoted to Latin and to Greek Literature: and like most bookmen, they had all come to have little knowledge of how gradual the educative process has actually to be, and of the limited progress that average learners can make even in the best schools. The Italian secondary schools of the time were largely, though not by any means wholly, directed or influenced by the Jesuits:

⁴ Edition of Padua, 1636, II. chap. 17.

they continued so even long after Facciolati's time, and the great Latinist himself gave emphatic testimony to the sound results of that influence when in a notable address on Latin studies, delivered at Padua in 1713, he refused to propound any new system. But the friends whom Scioppius gathered round him, such as Cesarini, Ciampoli, William Seton (*nobilis Scotus, vir Gracis et Latinis litteris perpolitus*) were as much lacking in vital touch with the school-work as he was himself, and the programme of studies outlined, with their approval, in the third of the '*Consultationes*' made the theorist's mistake of supposing all learners to have exceptional talent. The four-year course there outlined as an '*Ordo Parandae Eloquentiae Latinae*,' relied as far as possible on the use by the scholars of Schoppe's own '*Mercurius Bilinguis*,' and '*Pervigilium Bonae Mentis*.' All these works, as well as Schoppe's treatise '*de Rhetoricarum Exercitationibus*,' had prosperous careers as school-books, quite apart from the programme of studies which he inconsiderately based on them. As a reformer of grammar treatises his distinction and success were admitted by all scholars during the next hundred years; and compilers of the new text-books as late as 1800, drew copiously on both Schoppe and one of his distinguished controversial victims, Gerard John Vossius.

It was specially characteristic of Schoppe that in the '*Consultationes*' he warmly recommended the use of the treatise on prosody by Emmanuel Alvarez, a Portuguese Jesuit of the 16th century, and of the Irish *Janua Linguarum*, while he indulged in a sweeping attack on

the whole method and policy of the Jesuit colleges, and on the scholarship of the Jesuit Latinists of the day. Ever since 1595, when he lived at Ingolstadt, he had been intermittently in relations with Jesuits, in Southern Germany, Northern Italy, and Spain. But for reasons which he nowhere adequately indicates, he was converted from being a casual friend into a bitter public enemy. From 1624 to 1642 there resulted a series of pamphlets against the Order: the years 1632 to 1636 saw no less than eight of them issued by this one hostile critic under at least five different pen-names.

Against this torrent of calumny, of which charges of bad scholarship made up perhaps the least important part, the Jesuit writers showed themselves in the field of letters. Forer at Innsbruck and Ingolstadt, Crusius at Cologne, and the well-known theologian, Paul Laymann, at Diligen, refuted the various charges which Schoppe made under his various disguises. Some of the Jesuit replies were published under pseudonyms, as that of Lavanda, assumed by Melchior Inchofer for his '*Grammaticus Pucrilis*' of 1638. Forer's chief work in this war of pamphlets was the '*Grammaticus Proteus*' issued at Ingolstadt in 1636: and the title clung to Schoppe for years after. The attacks made in the *Consultationes* were met both in 1639 by Inchofer, in his '*Grammaticus Palaephatus*,' and by another distinguished Jesuit Latinist, Albert de Albertis, Professor at Milan. Of the works of de Albertis the only one published which bears on this controversy is the *Lydius Lapis Ingenii Spiritus ac Morum Gasparis Scioppii*, published at Munich in 1649.

A copy which I found in the Douce Library, Oxford, supplies some interesting notes on the career of Scioppius and his works in the sphere of secondary education. The Jesuit origin of his introductory work had been specially noted by both Forer and Inchofer: the fact that the greater portion of the *Grammatica Philosophica* was due to Sanchez of Salamanca, they also insisted on. There was but little direct gain, however, from any criticisms of the books, which on the whole stood well in the scholastic world. On the practical results of all his educational plans, more effective arguments could be founded. A good citizen of Rome, Pompeius Laetus, is instanced by de Albertis⁵ as being exceedingly indignant at the outcome of an educational experiment which Schoppe had induced him to have tried. Laetus had withdrawn his son at twelve years of age, and given him in charge to a 'notorious' schoolmaster, a dependent of the German scholar. Under the latter's direction the boy was to learn more Latin, within six months, than he could ever acquire from Jesuit teaching. Three years went by before the new but perverse teaching methods were tested. The learner who so confidently expected to have a thorough mastery of Latin, proved just fit to be the scrivener of an actuary. The new plan of studies, and the new school-books were also tested in Northern Italy, at Lucca, Pisa, and Urbino. The result, as briefly cited by de Albertis from Inchofer, was equally disastrous, though the scale of the experiment was certainly larger. Inchofer himself saw the books placed in the hands of the learners: he later

5 Op. cit., p. 531.

witnessed their abolition as manuals, at the direction of the civic authorities.⁶

At the close of his third '*Consultatio*'⁷ Schoppe addresses to Bishops generally a request for the trial of his methods in the schools under their control. Seven reasons are alleged in proof that a change is needed in existing school practice. He points out, in the course of this appeal, that while his grammar method is comprised in fifteen rules, the book in common use, that of the Jesuit Alvarez, contains no less than 500. This vast mass of matter to be memorised, only hinders due study of style: it is such a load on the shoulders of Jesuit teachers themselves, that it goes far to account for the meagre Latinity their average scholars can give proof of at the end of a seven years' course. Schoppe engages to produce better results, on his own plan, within two years. The petition seems to have led to some experiments, not only in the cities instanced previously, but also within the diocese of Casale. North of the Alps the innovator's doctrines got some hearing also; de Albertis states⁸ that while most of the Bishops there rejected the request, some few (*unum alterumve*) permitted their schools to be used by teachers for experiments on the new lines. But both in Germany itself and in Bohemia the results were unsatisfactory.

The number of editions, however, which were called for both during Schoppe's lifetime and for forty years after his death, would seem to show that in Northern Italy and

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 532—533.

⁷ Sect. 42.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 533.

the adjacent lands there was no inconsiderable demand for his '*Mercurius*.' It appeared under his own direction, in the following forms:—

(1) Paschasii Grosippi Mercurius Bilinguis, hoc est, nova facilisque ratio Latinae vel Italicae linguae intra vertentem annum addiscendae. Accessit ejusdem Grammatica philosophica. Milan, 1628.

(2) Pascasii Grosippi Rudimenta Grammaticae Philosophicae, et ejusdem Mercurius Bilinguis, in usum tironum paucis mensibus Linguam Latinam perdiscere aventium. Accessit Auctarium Mariangeli a Fano Benedicti. Milan, 1629.

It need only be noted that all the writers' names given above: Mariangelus, Pascasius, Grosippus (an anagram mutation of Gasparus Scioppius) are pen-names assumed by Schoppe. His '*Consultationes*' had appeared under the title 'Gasparis Schioppii, Comitis a Claravalle': and de Albertis naturally finds much matter for pleasantry in the style and title of the self-created Count of Clairvaux, 'e fuligineo tenebrione in Comitum fulgentissimum conscriptus.'⁹

The two editions coming next in chronological order were on a scale more ambitious than the modest '*Mercurius Bilinguis*':

(3) 'Gasparis Scioppii Comitis a Claravalle Mercurius Quadrilinguis.''

Basle, 1636. The edition was, before completion, transferred across the Alps, and appeared soon afterwards as

⁹ Op. cit., p. 384.

(4) 'Gasparis Scioppii Comitis a Claravalle Mercurius Quadrilinguis, id est, Linguarum Hebraeae, Graecae, Latinae, et Italicae nova et compendiarium discendi ratio, ad Ferdinandum II., Magnum Hetruriae Ducem. Padua, 1637.

The copy of this edition in the British Museum was formerly in the library of the Augustinian Hermits at Padua: it has an Appendix, also due to Schoppe, on a brief method of learning Hebrew and Chaldaic. From its various introductions material has been got for the history of the *Janua*. The next issue was of the 'Mercurius Bilinguis,' in the same year as Schoppe died: the title-page shows clearly the various hands that had worked at it, and the inventor himself.

(5) Gasparis Scioppii . . . Mercurius Bilinguis
. . . Venice, 1649, cum privilegio.

The title-page is substantially the same as in the editions of 1628 and 1629: but in the Italian version of it the following words occur:

'Ma oltre di tutto ciò fe li è accopiato un Opuscoletto, che insegna ad appendere l'una è l'altra Lingua in breve tempo, tratto de Bateo dal Gisippo.'

A copy is in the Bodleian Library, bound up, as are all the subsequent Italian issues, with 'Il perfetto Dittionario' of Galesini.

(6) A re-issue of the edition of 1649, dated 1657, is in the Aberdeen Library.

(7) Mercurius Bilinguis . . . in usum eorum qui alterutram linguam intelligunt.

Gulielmus Bateus, Hibernus,

opusculum hoc, tot proverbiis, adagiis, et apophthegmatibus praeceptuorum virorum refertum, tantisque miscellaneis sententiis familiaris locutionis usui accommodatis, tam variis vocabulis immenso sane studio congestis composuit:

Pascasius Gosippus

Humanarum Philosophicarum Artium Professor eximius, a mendis quae contraxerat, eleganti utriusque idiomatis stylo suo candori restituit:

Religiosus Quidam

Postremo easdem enunciationes omnino permixtas ad XLII. capita ordinate et artificiose redegit, et singulis Italicas supposuit. Venice, 1659.

The changes made in these editions, as compared with those published in Schoppe's lifetime, will call for special notice. Substantially identical with the editions of 1657 and 1659 is the last Italian edition I have been able to trace:

(8) *Mercurius Bilinguis*—Venice, 1684.

An imperfect copy of this edition is in the British Museum: some 580 of the sentences have been omitted owing to a binder's error, and their place is taken by pages of 'If perfetto Dittionario,' which in all the Venetian editions of the Irish *Janua* formed a large part of the volume. The type and setting are new, but the general order of the two previous editions would seem to have been carefully preserved.

The changes which Schoppe introduced in his Italian issues of the Irish *Janua* may now be dealt with, as

expounded by himself in the preface to the *Mercurius Quadrilinguis*, 1637—the fullest of all the series. He held (Preface, p. 8) that the principle of non-repetition had involved Bathe in difficulties greater than the evils he desired to avoid. The Irish Jesuit's wish to provide for those who desired a knowledge of Latin for religious purposes was set aside: it led to the introduction of non-classical terms in speech and in writing. The new editor, however, was rather sparing of the pruning-knife: his admiration of the main plan and of the skilful way in which it was worked out, stayed his hand: *incommodum . . . utrumque Bateus, admiranda Latinarum litterarum discendi facilitate, cumulate redimit et compensat*. Schoppe then cites, from a pamphlet published at Florence by Carpano, a practical proof of the efficiency of Bathe's method. The subject of the experiment was the son of a Spanish nobleman of rank, the place was the Court of Spain, and the judges were the Jesuits of the college at Madrid. The boy was found to be able to explain Cicero's letters and Caesar's Commentaries within six months after the commencement of his Latin studies. And Schoppe cites, on the success of the experiment, Padre Agostino Confaloneri, then Rector of the Jesuit College at Genoa. That he was able to get men of note in the world of letters at the time to translate the *Janua* sentences into Italian, was offered as additional proof of the value of Bathe's plan—a plan frequently credited to its author by name. Virginus Caesarinus, a Roman nobleman distinguished in the world of letters, ('*aetatis nostrae Phœnix*') is the first to be named. A Dutch scholar, skilled in law and in

languages alike, also had a share in the work. The preface itself is dated from Padua, December 1636. The Irish *Janua Linguarum* thus came to be used in the same Italian university city in which Bathe had worked at its composition some thirty-five years earlier. In all the Italian editions he got full credit for the authorship: his name was completely suppressed in the larger number of issues which were published at London.

The changes made in the Venetian editions of 1649, 1657, 1659, and 1684, affected not so much the material contents of the original text, as its order and arrangement. The Latin sentences and the corresponding Italian version were no longer printed on the opposite pages of the open book: but the Italian was set immediately beneath the Latin. This rather obvious school-book device was, however, quite subordinate to the main alteration. The whole 1041 separate sentences of the Salamanca edition were re-classified in a new and systematic plan, and the division on broad moral generalities, provided by Bathe, was abandoned. The Venetian classification was distinctly encyclopaedic in form, and approached in its main characteristics the plan adopted by Comenius. But the resemblance was in so far incomplete that the actual wording of Bathe's sentences was retained throughout. This was of course enough to keep them, even still, 'sententiae morales': they did not take that purely 'useful information' cast which is so conspicuous in the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*. It is perhaps possible that this re-casting of the sentences of the Salamanca *Janua* and of his own *Mercurius* may have been suggested to Schoppe

by the *Janua* of Comenius, and that the 'Religiosus quidam' of Venice was only executing what Schoppe had planned before his death. The possibility is strengthened by a reference in a letter from Hübner to Gronovius, in the year 1640.¹⁰ Schoppe is there spoken of as mending his ways in his old age. A letter of his had recently come into Hübner's hands from a friend at Vienna: in it the old scholar has words of warm praise for the *Janua* of Comenius, and advised his Viennese correspondent to make a Greek version of the new *Janua*. That the *Mercurius Bilinguis* of 1627--8 was noticed by the Hartlib circle of letter-writers and students of method, is clear from two other letters cited by Kvascala.¹¹ Hartlib is there referred to as having made it quite clear in his letters to Tasse (Professor at Hamburg) that the *Mercurius Bilinguis* is derived from the Spanish *Janua*, and is a forerunner of the work of Comenius. And in 1636, Hübner reports to Hartlib that he had while in Holland made search for the new work of Schoppe, cited by Vossius in his treatise on the art of grammar. The book proved to be the *Mercurius Bilinguis*, and contained many novelties. Probably the novelties were such as the new Italian version, which Schoppe held to be far more perfect than any that had as yet been added to the Irish *Janua*.

The encyclopaedic re-arrangement in the Venetian editions, whatever be its origin or occasion, was grouped, as the title-page of the 1659 edition tells us, under forty-two heads. Each of these topics had a varying number of

¹⁰ Sloane MS.--cited by Kvascala, *J. A. Comenius*, Berlin, 1904, Vol. I., p. 163.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 61--62; Vol. II., p. 59.

sentences assigned to it, according to the subject matter in which Bathe's 'sententiae morales' found material expression. Some specimens of the new titles will serve to show how the new plan resulted :--

Sent. 1— 7, De Deo.	451—515, De poenis et vitiis.
7— 58, De Christo.	866—877, De mercatura.
58— 88, De rebussacris.	891—901, De corpore.
280—302, De infantia.	761—782, De insectis.
330—349, De primoribus.	568— 579, De cibo et potu.

The narrative on Envy is kept intact, and is numbered 1041--1141. Then follows Bathe's *Appendix de Ambiguis*, under the new title of ' *Enunciationes Latinæ Amphibologicæ*,' which complete the 1200 sentences of the original text. That the Venetian grouping of Bathe's sentences was not the only feasible new one is shown by the re-classification of J. E. Bythner,¹² which was made with a view to exemplifying grammatical rules.

¹² *Compendiaria Latinitatis Via*, Stade, 1682.

PART II.

THE PRACTICE OF CLASSICAL TEACHING IN THE POST-RENAISSANCE PERIOD.

*Nec multum ex orationis intelligentia
capias utilitatis, nisi oratoris eloquen-
tiam et notando observare possis et
exprimere imitando, in quo egregii
eloquentiae doctoris vel maxime elucet
industria.—Ratio Studiorum of 1591.*

CHAPTER X.

The Practice of Composition.

THE simplification of secondary school programmes has in recent years become an insistent necessity. Everywhere the pressure of their multiplex demand has been at least vaguely felt: nowhere has any solution been proposed which does not turn out to be a mere palliative. Secondary education has come to mean a comprehensive list of subjects: there is little real variation on this score either in Europe or in America. The subject-list has become the pivot of the whole system: on different principles some subjects may be partially or wholly excluded to make room for others, but the general result is the same. It is the sub-division of the available class-hours between a great number of subjects of instruction. In no type of secondary instruction, whether in Latin or in Teutonic lands, can it now be said that the education given is unified by any central principle which makes the subject-matter of instruction subordinate to its aim. To a greater or less extent, no doubt, the various divisions of that subject-matter are "co-ordinate," "correlated," or organised by way of "concentration." The results of these attempts are as a rule to be seen rather in the

accounts committed to print than in the actual practice of the class-room. To the learner, the variety and extent of the "useful and becoming knowledge" he is to acquire remain hard realities: the pedagogic verb or noun does not lighten his burden. The result is to be seen in the complaints of over-pressure made incessantly in Scandinavia, in German and in Latin lands, during the past thirty years. Anything and any person put under pressure, moral or physical, tends to become passive, limp, unresisting. Complaints have no doubt led to the shortening of working hours: private work by secondary scholars has in some countries almost ceased to exist. But as long as the acquirement of definite knowledge of facts is the main purpose of education, overpressure is inevitable. Such knowledge may be prepared with great care, well-arranged and organised, clearly communicated in the class-room. But it is passive knowledge. The exercise, in all its different types, is fast disappearing. Composition-work in languages has been reduced both in range and importance. Expression of one's own thoughts in sentences and paragraphs has been replaced by elaborate analysis of the clause-types and period-structures of authors read. Verse-composition has practically disappeared: in its stead has come the passive knowledge of complex metrical systems. Practical skill in expression through a language is put aside for the detailed study of the civilisation of the people who used that language. The archæologist and the historian of life and manners are now sitting in chairs that once belonged to the humanist and man of letters.

That these changes in the object and method of language-study have not made such study more fruitful and secure, is now coming to be acknowledged. It will perhaps be of interest, therefore, to see in some detail how differently the main subject of language-study in the Post-Renaissance period was organised as an instrument of education. The Latin language in schools in Europe, from 1500 to 1700, was taught and learned on a plan that was thoroughly unified. It was so unified, because its object was a strictly practical one. Transcendental grounds of argument in defence of classical studies had not as yet been excogitated: existing custom and definite utility sufficed. Personal mastery of the language, power of self-expression in it, command of its various forms of literature, were all prime necessities among educated men. The great profession of Medicine knew its own work and progress through Latin only: even the private records of medical practice were made in it, as is shown by the recent discovery of the notes by physicians in attendance on Charles II. of England in his last illness. Physical and natural sciences sought expression through it. The two branches of the law, ecclesiastical and civil, had all their knowledge stored in it, till after the period of Grotius. Philosophy was cultivated in the same medium. The entire realms of erudition and critical scholarship, of controversy, and learned correspondence, were ruled through it alone.

Mastery of speech and of writing in Latin was therefore the practical object set before students prior to the period of strictly professional studies. It was an immediate

object set before all students alike: they were not classified and grouped into sections determined by their future range of work. These professional occupations would, no doubt, require each its own technical vocabulary. It was one of the mistakes of Comenius to think that an encyclopædic knowledge of all such technical terms must be secured in secondary schools by all students alike. The result was a pile of unusual words, with a notable absence of connecting links: loose bricks without mortar. Far more important, in the secondary stage, was readiness with the more general and useful weapons of narrative, exposition, dialogue, description, persuasion. Thus Latin studies led up to and found their sole object, their practical justification, in the acquirement of what in the widest sense was called the *oratoria facultas*, characterised by Ringelberg¹ as *lux omnium disciplinarum, princeps doctrinarum*: without it not merely all other arts, but everything whatever would remain in obscurity. The same single definite aim of secondary studies is made quite clear in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, published when the sixteenth century was merging into the seventeenth. The final class of Rhetoric was "to train to finished power of expression. This comprises two important branches, oratory and poetry. Of these two, however, oratory is always to have precedence. Such education not only serves practical ends, but allows of ornamental accomplishments."²

Practical ability to use both the spoken and the written

¹ Joachim Fortius Ringelbergius *de Ratione Studii*, c. 15.

² *Regulae Professoris Rhetoricae*, 1.

word in Latin was thus the purpose of secondary education. Latin was for good reasons to be learned as a speech still living on the lips of men, and also as a means of culture and refinement. The issues which separate recent 'direct' methods of instruction in languages from what are supposed to be the traditional or classical ways of teaching were also fully discussed in relation to Latin: writers on education had reached definite conclusions on these questions long before modern languages began to claim treatment analogous to that accorded the classical languages. The corruption of Latin, due to premature speaking of it in school-rooms and for the purposes of school life, caused a vigorous reaction before the end of the sixteenth century. The pioneer in reform here, as in questions relating to the handling of grammar, was Sanchez of Salamanca, the 'Franciscus Sanctius' whose name occurs so frequently in educational writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spoken Latin, preceding the study of authors and style, he held must always be corrupt Latin, deeply tinged by literal translation from the various vernacular tongues of Europe. Like Vives, he instanced the effect of the Latin of the schools in depraving idiom and narrowing the range of expression. Caselius, though he joined in the war against the extreme Ciceronians, held the same view. "As style makes the speaker," he asks in a tract published in 1593, "are scholars to promptly exercise themselves in speaking? It is impossible to admit this. To have boys compose speeches as they now do, is a false method, and has numerous untoward results. The learners are com-

pelled to frame new sentences which have no meaning in them: or else they get accustomed to talking a depraved idiom, and so create a new language of their own. They must therefore read a great deal, or else do no composition work.”³ And in another educational treatise he repeats the advice. “To make beginners speak Latin, is absolutely wrong. If they are so compelled, they will speak a new and half-barbarous language, not Latin. I desire boys to be taught Latin so that they first understand it, and then use it for writing, to be followed by speaking.”⁴

This reversal of the “natural method” even in the case of a language meant to be spoken by the great bulk of those who studied it, was one of the settled principles of Post-Renaissance teaching. It was due to the fact that the ‘natural conditions’ postulated by a sound ‘natural method’ were impossible to realise. Were it possible to secure that Latin would be spoken as it should be, all would be in agreement on the merits of the ‘natural method’ as applicable to Latin. The dream of establishing a community which would speak Latin only, and of so securing a good command of spoken Latin for scholars of tender years who might be educated within it, was always crossing the minds of educational writers in the seventeenth century. Vives gives the absence of such a community as the only justification for grammar: Gerard Vossius is equally explicit when he says: “It were desirable that as there was in the past, so there should now

³ *De Lingua Latina addiscenda dissertatio Joannis Caselii*, c. 6 (Cologne text).

⁴ Caselius: *Liber de ludo*.

too exist some clan or tribe, which would speak Latin: we should then have the very speediest way to acquire a knowledge of the language.”⁵ The vision also flitted across the imagination of Comenius, and would seem to have been part of the ‘ pansophic cogitations’ about which his circle of English correspondents busied themselves. Hornius writes to Samuel Hartlib, on September 12, 1652: ‘ Our learning consists in these two words and things. Under words I comprise the knowledge of tongues, Latin, Greeke, and Hebrew, with their allies. Now because all that way of learning tongues which hath hitherto been either used or invented, hath not yet satisfied the Publique Expectation, I would therefore persuade that those charges which are commonly bestowed on Publique Schools, should rather be laid out for planting of Romane, Grecian, and Hebrew Colonies. . . . Youth should be sent into these colonies, that fr m their tender years or riper age they might be accustomed to speake and write those languages.”⁶

The prospect of a colonial settlement was of course impossible to carry out in the century in which it was thus made. Its authors hardly knew that it had been put into execution some seven hundred years before, when at the close of the tenth century St. Gerard of Toul brought two colonies or settlements, one of Irishmen who knew Greek, and one of Greek native speakers, to his cathedral city for the improvement of education. But in the seventeenth century educators could only recommend, with

5 G. J. Vossii de Studionum ratione opuscula, c. 2.

6 Sloane MSS., B.M., vol. 649, ff 227—231.

Montanus of Spires, an avoidance of early practice in speaking a classical language. "They impress on us the need of fluency in speaking, and they pay no attention to style. What can this result in but sheer barbarism, and a baseless belief in one's possession of a knowledge which cannot stand the test of inquiry into its accuracy?"⁷

Command of spoken Latin was therefore to be an ultimate result, not an initial process: and this considered decision of three hundred years ago is not without its bearing on all questions of language-method where an environment quite 'natural' for the language in question cannot be secured. The road to good Latinity lay through the accurate practice of writing in the language, which in turn supposed a good deal of careful reading. The practice of Latin writing, even in its earliest stages, quite apart from any reference to Latin reading, is now happily dying out: it was prevalent in English-speaking countries during the past century, and owed its origin to a careless and uneducational examination system. This divorce of writing and reading was quite unheard of before the French Revolution. Works on 'Latin Composition,' which were merely collections of vernacular passages culled from various sources, were not then looking for a market. The task of preparing the subject-matter for composition was then essentially personal to the teacher. The unbroken tradition of school-practice required that it should be his own work, and should arise out of the reading of the class. Vives was only stating the common law of schools when he wrote to Mountjoy: "The pen must be

⁷ *Collectaneorum Latinae Locutionis opus*: c. 2, par. 2.

frequently exercised. It is the best teacher and developer of a good command of speech. Begin then by using not merely words, but whole clauses taken from the authors you read. Fit them together, so that the result may be looked on as substantially your own. Gradually add from your own mind: as your knowledge increases with your years, you will come to find complete self-expression. At first we write a little only, and do it with minute care. Look not to quantity but to quality.”⁸ Elsewhere Vives emphasises the need for slow progress: “There is more need at this stage of careful and diligent practice, lest the finer points escape our notice: they are of the greatest importance.” And in the same context he lays stress on the ‘naturalness’ of imitation: “Boys are by nature apes: they imitate all things, and do so always.”⁹ Closeness to the very substance of the author in use was looked on as essential by Vossius, who wrote fully a hundred years later than Vives: scholars should not strike out for themselves till much work had been done in the other fashion. “This form of composition is seen when a boy chooses a letter or short story, which is closely analogous to what he wishes to express, and adapts it to his own purpose by a few changes. . . . So he will learn from Cicero himself the accurate notion of Roman style, and how to fashion the substance of what he desires to express. Much more of developed skill is needed when imitation is carried out in a subject markedly apart from that of the Latin writer. Such an initiative exercise is not due

⁸ J. L. Vives *Carolo Montiojo Gulielmi Filio de Ratione puerilis institutionis*. 1523. (Basle folio Edu. Vol. I. pp. 7 sq.)

⁹ J. L. Vives *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, Lib. III., p. 470.

mainly to the author, but in large part to ourselves. What we take from him, is yet clearly seen to become our own: like clever thieves, we give stolen goods a quite new appearance. But all imitative work by beginners should entail preferably a small amount of writing, slowly done.”¹⁰

Naturally enough, a composition work, which aimed at keeping close to an author's text, tended to become detached from the realities around the learner. The same result is noticeable under even the better forms of modern examination systems. When special books are indicated as typical of a style, or range of subject matter to be cultivated and used as a basis of training, the result, even in a fully vernacular language, is not quite successful. The written work of students has been found in this system to develop into unreal, unduly ‘literary’ and rather stilted language. The same defects made themselves seen in the composition work of the seventeenth century. Gabriel Naudaeus pointed it out in the first half of that period, when he lamented the absence from school exercises of purity and terseness of diction, and the cultivation of simpler and more familiar (*domesticus*) ways of self expression. “Boys in school are very far from acquiring any knowledge or securing any practice of these essential qualities of style, though their use is far more becoming, and is called for more frequently, than that of the mannerisms of some characterless piece of declamation-work. And they are not in a position to put together a speech or a *chria*, unless they get before-

¹⁰ Vossius, *opus. cit.*, c. 9.

hand from the teacher a crude and ill-arranged amount of raw material.”¹¹

The need of rendering composition-work quite practical was felt not only by an educational theorist like the writer just cited, but by experienced teachers as well. Sturm lays it down explicitly in words which will serve to confirm the general course of the argument based on school-practice in his time. “Style must be our aim from the beginning. It will probably lead to oral exposition. But extempore speech cannot be ventured on except after long and assiduous practice in written exposition. Oral work and written work alike are properly concerned with well-known subjects (*in rebus notis et quotidianis*).¹² At the very close of the period we are investigating, the same need of keeping the classwork in contact with life is emphasised by J. L. Praschius. As Thomas Arnold did in the nineteenth century, Praschius pointed out the need of excluding from schools such subjects for composition work as ‘Virtue,’ ‘The Study of Letters,’ ‘Prudence.’ What schoolboys can write on such topics is of no use in their education: *tantum scribunt ut scribant*. All exercises of style are to be made to convey information about the actual world in which the scholars live (*ut per ea res civiles hodiernaeque innotescant*) they should have a strong dash of love of fatherland about them too. The type of Latin written should above all be useful: letters, addresses, speeches of all kinds are to be worked at, and beginners were to be allowed freely to ‘convey’ the phrases and

¹¹ *Syntagma de Studio Liberali*: c. 12. Naudaeus, who died in 1653, was librarian to Christina of Sweden.

¹² *Joannis Sturmii de litterarum ludis recte aperiendis liber*. c. 24.

thoughts of classical authors they read."¹³ The writer could easily point to the real utility of the type of Latin writing he wished to see cultivated. The almost universal use of Latin in all deliberative assemblies of Germany and Hungary, and in many councils of lesser degree, would alone suffice to give point to his directions.

The need for the handling of familiar and simple subjects, both in the authors read and in the written work done by the lowest classes in secondary schools, was fully understood by the Jesuits. The chief prescribed text for the lowest class contemplated in the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 was Cicero, but Cicero carefully adjusted to the standard and outlook of the class. The passages were to be very easy, carefully selected, and if possible, separately printed: they were as a rule made up from the most familiar and simple of the *Letters*. Here the beginner in Latin came into contact with neither literature nor politics nor details of tribal wars, as he often does in the usual introductory books of the last hundred years. Any of the collections of simple *Letters* opened up a world far more real and usual than Caesar or even Livy could offer. It had also the advantage of providing a vocabulary on which as a basis could be built up a knowledge of phrases appropriate for use in the ordinary relations of life. It need not be encyclopaedic in range, or exhaustively technical in detail. Its range should be determined by the actual needs of school life. On this plan were built up in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the various

13 Joannis Ludovici Praschii *Rosetum seu Praecepta stili Latini*. Ratisbon, 1676.

books of dialogues which combined in many cases thoroughly practical utility in boy-life with reliable utility. Such were the *Colloquia* of Vives: of them Freigius wrote in 1595, "Nihil est enim fere rerum cotidianarum, quod non ex ejus dialogis pure Latine et proprie effari non liceat"; and this high commendation has been repeated a few years ago by Professor Foster Watson.¹⁴ Of the same type were such works as the *Progymnasmata* of the Jesuit Pontanus (d. 1636), often reprinted in the seventeenth century at Ingolstadt, Munich, Frankfort, and Leipzig; the *Colloquia* of Corderius, Erasmus, and Despantere; and in more condensed form, the moral sentences of the Irish *Janua Linguarum*. All these combined the two required elements of practical completeness and good Latinity. It was in the former characteristic that the *Janua* of Comenius erred by excess: in the latter it was defective. The constant active use of Cicero's Letters and of good classical dialogue enabled even very young students to express their own thoughts effectively and properly. An example of this can be seen in the simple but tasteful Latin letters written in 1631–1632 by the Duke of Enghien to his father, Henry Prince of Condé.¹⁵ The boy, afterwards the great Condé, was then but ten years of age; the letters are quite personal in tone, and though in good Latin—the father would allow of no other language—have an easy informal style that showed the absence of the revising hand.

¹⁴ English Grammar Schools, 1906.

¹⁵ Histoire des Princes de Condé, par le duc d'Aumale. 1886. Tome III.: pièces et documents.

The use of dialogue led up naturally to the practice of oral composition and declamation, both of which were closely associated with the reading and written exercise. In his well-known letter to Queen Katharine on the education of her daughter the Princess Mary, Vives gave directions that the Princess should speak Latin with her instructor and her class-mates, who were to be three or four in number. She was to be praised for proficiency, and they were to be praised within her hearing. She should try to reproduce orally what she had read in Latin authors; to listen carefully to the Latin conversation of good scholars, and to speak like them herself. "This is the art of imitation, especially valuable in studies, for those of tender years: imitation is their most successful method." Accent, no less than phrase, was to be carefully attended to.¹⁶ Sturm, in the treatise already cited (Chapter 24) points out the advantages of supplementing the written by the spoken exercise. For this purpose, a subject should be proposed by the teacher, and worked out before the class in some detail: it could be either of the narrative or the argumentative type. Time should then be allowed for reflective preparation, and the exercise should thereafter be done orally. To this prepared practice of Latin speech, Sturm seems to attach even more importance than to the written exercise or to the practice of unprepared conversation. Out of modern classical studies it has entirely disappeared. But the revival of this method in the teaching of modern languages may perhaps

¹⁶ *Vivis de studii puerilis ratione epistolica dissertatio* I.: written from Oxford, 1523 (Basle Edition. Vol. I., pp. 1-7), chap. 12.

in the course of a few years influence the practice of classical teaching also. Sturm recommends that the topic be settled before school is dismissed in the afternoon, and that the meditated exposition of it be required next morning. A full hour could profitably be devoted to the exercise: it had a result in securing readiness, propriety, and relevance in the spoken word which might commend the method of our present-day teachers of the vernacular language. The use of clear, tasteful and succinct spoken English would benefit as much from such an exercise as French seems to have done in the schools of France. Mastery of the French language came to perfection there while classical studies were still the basis of secondary education. It was acquired by active and systematic exercise in speech and writing: the exercises themselves were borrowed from the classical subjects as taught in France far down into the nineteenth century.¹⁷ The gradual elimination of classics from the secondary school programmes in France, and more notably the replacement, in classical study itself, of exercises by erudition, of writing by mere reading, have brought about within the last ten that critical situation in the cultivation of French which has been deplored by Faguet in particular. "It is more than a crisis: it is a definite and irretrievable decadence . . . French will no longer be generally written . . . There will be two languages, the one, French, written by and for the few: the other a language for which a name will doubtless be found, a language

17 On this transference of methods, see Hartog: *The Teaching of English* (Clarendon Press): *passim*.

vague, floating, amorphous, confused. No one will grasp adequately what it conveys: but it will serve all the same as a vehicle of communication, rudimentary, hardly civilised . . . The decadence is due to the abandonment of Latin, to the encyclopaedic programmes of secondary education, to premature specialism, and to the reading of newspapers replacing the reading of books.”¹⁸

The exercises in spoken language desired by Sturm, as spoken above, were of course exercises of the class-room. They were not meant to exclude the use of the language outside the hours of formal instruction: but like Sanctius and his followers in the grammatical and idiomatic reform of school Latin, Sturm and Vives both wished the use of Latin, in recreation and conversation, to be carefully prepared for beforehand in the school-room. In his fullest and most formal treatise on Education, Vives lays special stress on the need of such preparation. “ They will speak Latin during recreation, and some penalty will be imposed on any who use the vernacular. This speaking of Latin will come easy and will be therefore practised freely, if all the expressions for use during recreation are fully explained to them by the teacher in good and appropriate Latinity. We are unwilling to commit ourselves to speech, if we fear our utterances will be unsuitable and pointless.”¹⁹ And Vives goes on to make a practical suggestion as to how the teacher can personally aid in such development of spoken Latin during hours of relaxation. What he urges breathes the spirit of wise

¹⁸ *Revue de deux Mondes*, Sept. 15, 1910.

¹⁹ *De Tradendis Disciplinis*. Bk. III., p. 472 (Basle edition).

indulgence and inculcates the great advantage of that familiar intercourse between teacher and taught, which has been the secret of success in Christian education in the days of Don Bosco, of Vittorino da Feltre, of St. Anselm at Bec, and of St. Jerome in Palestine. "But when the weather will not permit exercise of the body, and in dealing with those who cannot or will not practice it at a given season, story-telling of a humorous and agreeable kind will be found a great source of delight. Of this type are fables, *contes*, and the like, provided they are pleasant, witty, clever, and amusing."²⁰

Contact in this fashion with living Latin was the best guarantee that the study of the language would not result in a mere knowledge of books and authors, but would develop through constant personal use into a knowledge thoroughly "unto occasion." The need of constant practice in such exercises was so well realised that Schoppe proposed a school organisation which would admit of composition work being placed in the charge of special masters. "Composition-instructors will have the duty of prescribing the subjects and subject-matter for writing to the pupils, and of correcting their compositions in prose and in verse." The plan has many attractive features, as it tended to prevent the active exercise of composition being unduly limited by any leaning of a class teacher towards the more passive branches of reading and its accessory erudition. But it also involved that divorce of

²⁰ De Tradendis Disciplinis, Bk. III., p. 472. The Latin runs thus: "At quum tempus exercere corpus non sinet, aut quibus vel non licebit vel non libebit, magno oblectamento erunt sermocinationes festivae et suaves; cujusmodi sunt fabellae aut historiolae aut ejusmodi narrationes, jucundae, lepidae, argutae, facetiae."

writing from reading which it was the great anxiety of educational writers of the day to forestall and prevent." "Topics for composition," wrote Sturm, "are to be drawn from the reading done in class, so that pupils may know from what source to draw both phraseology and models of clause-structure."²¹ The dominance of the oratorical and especially of the Ciceronian model in such composition-work might, however, be expected to entail a good deal of commonplaces and banalities in written and spoken exercises. The *Tulliiatri* who succeeded to the greater *Ciceroniani* such as Folietta, were no doubt to some extent responsible for this: and by a natural reaction there arose stylistic disciples of both Melanchtton and Lipsius, advocates of a terser and more compact manner of writing and speaking. But so thorough-going an admirer of Cicero as Sturm proved himself to be, can be cited as opposed to the verbose and Asiatic style of oratory. "Without frequent practice in speech and in writing," he remarks, no work of distinction can be produced in literature. But we must guard against prolixity in argument, against an inflated and empty style, with its accompaniments of debased and negligent language, in writing. We should write as much as possible, argue as much as possible: yet careful work is not that which is long drawn-out, but what shows polish and penetration of judgment. Anything neatly expressed, even though it be brief, has a claim to distinction for the care it shows."²²

Appropriate types of exercises for the more advanced

²¹ *Op. cit.*, chap. 17.

²² *Op. cit.*, chap. 37.

classes are given at some length both by Erasmus²³ and by Vives. Those named by the former are:—

- (1) A topic for a short letter: it should have point and definiteness.
- (2) An address or brief narrative (*non insipida*).
- (3) A moral maxim, made up of four elements, two being statements, two their added reasons.
- (4) A subject for discussion, to be treated under five heads.
- (6) A dilemma, under two heads.
- (7) A more elaborate treatment of a topic, under seven heads.
- (8) (At times) as preliminary work in Rhetoric, the handling of one part of a discourse separately.
- (9) Frequent rendering of verse into prose.
- (10) Imitation of a letter of Pliny or Cicero, with altered words and figures of speech.
- (11) The expression of a thought under varied phrases and figures of speech.
- (12) Renderings of Greek into Latin—a most fruitful exercise, as it calls out all our resources in Latin phraseology.

This last exercise is to be practiced as frequently and as carefully as possible. A good deal of reading of authors is to go with composition work, *to supply materials for imitation*. But the teacher is also to point out an abundance of words and turns of expression when the subject has been set. At times, by way of a test of progress,

²³ De ratione Studii, c. 7.

students may be left to deal with a subject *suo quisque Marte*.

The subjects indicated by Vives²⁴ are rather for brief notes on matters of 'scholarship,' to be drawn up by the older scholars working in conjunction. He suggests the following:—

- (1) How far a rule of style is observed by an author.
- (2) Difficult and complex passages of authors.
- (3) Meaning, origin, purpose, application of a statement, or proverb, or aphorism, or fable, or story, or parable.
- (4) Names of places, things, living beings.
- (5) The force, derivation, range of use of a word.
- (6) Set forms of writing in prose and verse.

In the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* a distinction is made between the more elaborate exercises, to be proposed in class but worked out privately, and the shorter exercises to be done in the class-room. The former are clearly analogous to the exercises indicated by Erasmus, the latter to the subjects set out by Vives. The written work to be done in the class of Rhetoric, the highest school of Letters in the Jesuit system, are as follows:—

- (1) Imitation of a passage in a poet or orator.
- (2) Descriptive writing, as, for instance, about a garden, a church, a tempest.
- (3) Variant forms of a Latin clause.
- (4) Translation of a Greek speech into Latin or into English.

²⁴ de Tradendis Disciplinis. Bk. III., p. 470 ad fin.

- (5) Paraphrasing a passage of verse, in Greek or in Latin prose.
- (6) Rendering a verse passage from one metre into another.
- (7) Epigrams, inscriptions, epitaphs.
- (8) Applying figures of speech to a defined subject.
- (9) Planning lines of argument and illustrations for a speech.²⁵

There was to be at least one hour a week devoted to work of this kind during class-hours: in general these were subsidiary exercises, to be taken after the regular treatment of authors and of the more formal composition-work had been completed. In the final class these written and formal compositions were to be always oratorical. A month as a rule was to be spent at a subject, a separate section being taken each week. The outline to be furnished by the teacher was to be brief: he was always to indicate sources of material, rhetorical devices, and even passages of approved authors which might be used for imitation. Sometimes this imitation was to be required in minute detail.

Latin prose was always to be the chief aim in all school-work under the *Ratio Studiorum*.²⁶ Greek prose always held a recognised, but subordinate, position in that

²⁵ *Ratio Studiorum—Regulae Professoris Rhetoricae*, 5. These details, with other matter from the same chapter, were taken, as they stand, by Richard Simpson, to show on what plain Edmund Campion taught classics in the Jesuit College at Prague, 1574 (*Life of Campion*, pp. 105–6). The work of drawing up the *Ratio Studiorum* was begun in 1586, and not concluded till 1599. In citing Simpson to show the 'Jesuit method of teaching Rhetoric' (*English Grammar Schools*, 1906, pp. 452–3), Professor Foster Watson thus arrives at a correct result by an erroneous method.

²⁶ *Leges praemiorum*, 1.

system. Verse composition in Latin was not required till the last two classes were reached, and in Greek it was as a rule reserved for the class of Rhetoric. While there was ample scope for the use of verse in Latin among the men of letters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it seems to have fully recognised that it was not an absolutely essential part of a humanist education. Were the latter view generally held, Schoppe would hardly have risked his reputation as a man of letters, in the Renaissance sense of the phrase, by limiting verse-writing to those possessing "*ingenium a poetica minime abhorrens.*" Even these might often content themselves with developing a taste for and power to appreciate good Latin poetry. And he adds by way of a commentary a view that has prevailed only in recent years—and not everywhere even then: "*versus enim malos scribere ridiculum est; mediocres, inglorium: bonos et legi dignos, paene inconcessum.*"²⁷ In the Jesuit colleges the writing of Latin verse was much cultivated: but even in them the decline of classical studies after the seventeenth century made itself particularly felt in this branch of composition, save among the Jesuits themselves. The influence of classics on oratorical form, and on the sources of illustration for political argument, is nowhere more manifest than in the speeches of the great orators of the Revolutionary period in France. Among the publicists of English speech in that period, it is noticeable that Greek oratory and the post-Ciceronian period of Latin prose had more weight in the formation of style. Canning and Plunket have many

²⁷ *Consultationes*, III., c. 46.

traces of the influence of Demosthenes. Many passages in the Parliamentary speeches of the former could be rendered almost literally in the phrases of the great Athenian orator: his terseness and directness of attack and appeal are clearly traceable in the speeches of Plunket delivered in the Irish Parliament. The finest of them all, that speech on the project of a legislative Union, delivered in 1799, has also a close affinity to the compressed invective of Tacitus. The study of Latin oratory, and its active imitation in the school-practice of Europe from the Renaissance to the Revolution, was no doubt based primarily on Cicero. But the examples studied were never limited to Cicero alone. The splendid examples of rhetorical skill scattered through the works of the two foremost Roman historians were almost fully used: and imitation of the Cicero of the *Pro Archia* did not exclude the study of the simpler style of the speeches against Catiline.

CHAPTER XI.

The Reading of Authors.

IF the Post-Renaissance period in the history of education were to be characterised by a single phrase descriptive of its linguistic side, it might be said to be dominantly active in its processes. The accepted definition of culture in recent years, as a knowledge of the finest thoughts of the world's best minds on subjects of permanent human interest, could in a very full and true sense be applied to the period of European civilisation marked out by the names of Michael Angelo and Fénelon. But such culture, though largely attained through the secondary education of the time, was not formally aimed at in its curriculum. It was not so much a body of knowledge, as a mastery of the means of self-expression, which was sought in the strictly formative period of training. This cultivation of the medium of thought was naturally prominent as long as Latin remained a usual vehicle of expression; and it was all the more sought in those countries where, as in Poland, Hungary, and the Slavonic lands, it was a chief means of connection with the main centres of European civilisation. Writing at

Dantzig in the middle of the seventeenth century, Pastorius remarks that, without Latin, Poland would be limited to Russia by way of intellectual intercourse between nations: and so he comes to the conclusion that the Queen of Languages must be esteemed so highly that no efforts to win her favour should be counted too great. Purely as a medium, therefore, Latin had a high independent and practical value, which to a large extent it has ceased to have since the close of the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the period with which these chapters deal, the first impulse of the Renaissance was just attaining its full strength, and the belief that Latin writers had given expression to a body of thought and knowledge amply sufficient for the fullest learning and culture, was very widely held. It is easier to understand that degree of reliance on Latin if we remember that the word was not so limited in force then as it is now, in its educational applications. The range of authors read extended far beyond the golden and the silver age of Classical Latinity, and indeed came down, even in the recommendations of so thorough a stylist as Vives, to the very closing of the schools of Italy in the sixteenth century. The language and literature of the period of St. Jerome and St. Augustine are ranked by Colet, in his ordinances for St. Paul's School, 1506, as belonging to 'the very same perfect Latin tongue' of which Cicero and Virgil were but the first of a long line of polished writers.

But so wide a range of literature was not to be studied for its own content alone, or in a merely historic sense. Its range of thought and expression was regarded more

as a source from which the yet living Latin language could be enriched in various ways as an instrument and vehicle for self-expression in the present. The theory which was developed towards the close of the eighteenth century, to furnish a purpose for classical study, and which is closely associated with the name of F. A. Wolf, had not yet been thought of. Outside the rather narrow circle of de-Christianised Renaissance scholars of the fifteenth century in Italy, the pagan civilisation of the Greek and the Roman world was never set up as an ideal polity: and those who then held that it was, never tried to impose their belief as a working policy in education. Still less did they anticipate the classical guides of Germany who during the first seventy years of the nineteenth century drew two practical conclusions from Wolf's theory, the necessity of a knowledge of that pagan civilisation as an ideal for the governing classes of the future, and the consequent necessity for its historic study in schools. The more recent upholders of classical traditions in German education have retained the conclusions of the theory of Wolf, but have altered, or rather disguised the clearly un-Christian basis on which they rest. Instead of avowing that the Greek and Roman world afford an example of an ideal civilisation, they are content with asserting that the classical and modern civilisations are related as origin and development. To fully understand the complex and ever-varying aspects of modern life and thought, scholars must repair to the initial and therefore simpler conditions out of which modern polities have been evolved. The present strikes its roots in the past, and particularly

in two narrowly-bounded periods within which ancient civilisation found literary and 'monumental' expression of the most effective kind.

The logical result of these slightly divergent views of the purpose of classical studies is the same. These studies must refer in a predominant degree to the historic aspects of the two civilisations in question. The study and critical knowledge of the chief classical authors, as well as of the other records of classical times, become an end in themselves, and the main purpose for which Latin and Greek find a place in classical programmes. Positive acquaintance with large masses of co-ordinated facts, presenting a complete view of life as led in Greece and Rome, is the desired result of Greek and Latin scholarship. This "enrichment of the mind" gives the element of real, tangible, culture; the formal side is secured by an elaborate and systematic examination of the style and grammar and metric of classical authors. In the main, such formal scholarship remains purely historical and theoretical. The classification of elements of style, the devising and testing of rules of grammar, rhetoric, and metric are the only active exercises much in vogue. The result can easily be inferred, and easily verified. Works of a learned character in German are as a whole deficient in the architectonic elements of style, order, coherence: and the vital qualities of literature will be sought vainly in them, as compared with similar works in French. Minute detail in erudition there is in abundance: what is lacking is that grasp of a subject as a unit which is a characteristic of humanistic culture.

It would be erroneous, however, to imagine that the 'historic study' of ancient civilisation has in Germany resolved itself completely into the study of philology in the narrow sense of the word. The celebrated onslaught of William II., wherein he condemned the practice of minute grammatical analysis to which the great poets and orators were submitted, would not have been justified as regards German secondary teaching generally. Otfried Müller defined philology as "the knowledge of the thought of ancient times in its whole range of reason, feeling, and imagination." The formula makes it clear that the philological student in the German sense should aim at what Matthew Arnold defined culture to be. That such knowledge of the best thinking that has been done in the ancient world, just because in Böckh's words, "we are tributaries and dependents of Greece and Rome, in all branches of knowledge—even in medicine—except some small groups of the natural sciences," has its claim to and place in secondary education is quite clear. But that this place due to it should be exclusive or even primary, would never have won any acceptance from educationists in the two centuries when Latin was still a really living language, and when personal mastery of it and adequate proficiency in its use was the main purpose of secondary education. The modern use of Greek and Latin as sources of cultural knowledge logically entails the putting of reading in the foremost place in school-work. Exercises of the really active type are relegated to a subordinate position, diminished in number, frequency and importance, made strictly subordinate to the authors studied. By this

relative placing classical study has been transformed into the gathering of various archæologic materials. The 'historic school' of Wolf and Winckelmann in the eighteenth century, of Schiller, Eckstein, Nagelsbach and Schrader in the nineteenth, has succeeded in effectively imposing this view of classical culture on a great part of Europe. That in the acceptance of such a directing purpose a complete change has been made in the whole direction of classical work even in Germany itself, can be seen from a consideration of the position accorded to reading in the school practice of the two centuries with which we are now concerned.

The two chief educational writers of the opening period of the sixteenth century have given us full details on the type of classical reading which should be done in schools, and incidentally show with what purpose that reading should be done. Vives,¹ after pointing out the merits of Cicero, Caesar, and Livy, Virgil and Horace, says: "Sallust also is often found in the hands of boys, but to my mind he is better suited for those of greater proficiency. Cato, Varro. Columella, Palladius suggest terms for various objects: they are to be read with special care, and the words are to be compared with the things they represent (*verba cum rebus conferenda*). Pliny is as varied in vocabulary as the nature of the subjects he discusses. There are great treasures of phrase in him, and equally great treasures of things. . . . The poets are full of rare terms and varied modes of expression. . . . In dignity of style, in force of statement, in

¹ *Epistolicae dissertationes*, II., c. 6.

weight of argument and in rhythmical expression, Lucan stands first in my opinion." So finished a stylist and so copious and well-balanced a writer as Vives would naturally be expected to place Cicero first among the Latin writers to be read for expression and variety of phrase. To Livy he also gives high praise in the letter cited from: the preference for Lucan over Virgil may be explained by the cardinal factor in all study of Renaissance Humanities—authors were not read for themselves alone, but with the purpose of writing steadily kept in view. In his later and more elaborate work on education, a favourite prose author of the time is accorded very high praise:—"Pliny's letters are full of the flowers of speech. They are thoroughly suited for the cultivation of urbane scholarship, in all those branches which men of learning usually speak and write of among themselves. Hence many have learned them by heart, and under the influence of their sweetness of expression and fine phrasing, have gone so far as to prefer them to Cicero. To my mind this is almost a crime." Such reading, even in the case of beginners, was not usual. The plan of studies which made "the active exercises" dominant in the class-room, would not admit of wide reading and exposition there: such study was to be the private duty of each individual scholar. "You must read, by and for yourself, the various authors, and not wait till the teacher shall have made the whole of the difficulties easy for you: otherwise you will never understand fully any passage without a previous exposition of it (*sine praelegente*).² The duty

² De Tradendis Disciplinis, Bk. I., p. 476.

of getting into early touch with written Latin is specially urged by Erasmus: he desires that after the briefest possible preparatory work, the speaking and reading of Latin should proceed together. "Once the elements have been secured, I should desire that a boy be called on at once to speak Latin. If children can in a few months speak any language of the day, however uncultivated it be, what is to prevent that being achieved in Greek or Latin also? It cannot, however, be easily secured in a large assemblage of learners, and it needs practice with a private tutor. . . . Further, an energetic and well-educated teacher will find it no great burden to critically compare the usual types of grammar rules, select certain ones to be expressed as simply and succinctly as possible, and give them to the class. When that is done, they should at once be brought into touch with a suitable author."³ Vives was far from contemplating any narrow list of authors to be read. Though in the elaborate treatise *De Tradendis Disciplinis* he had described the Christian poets of Latin antiquity as *lutulentae et perturbatae aquae*, in his letter on the education of the Princess Mary he reversed his earlier verdict in very handsome terms. As testifying to the continuous tradition of Latin prose down to the opening of the period we treat, this passage of Vives is worth quoting at length. "The authors among which she will work are Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch (translated by several scholars), some dialogues of Plato, especially those referring to government; the epistles of St. Jerome, some writings of St. Augustine, Erasmus on the training of a

³ Erasmus de Ratione Studii, c. 6.

prince, the *Enchiridion*, *Paraphrases*, and other useful works of this type, More's *Utopia*. There are also Christian poets whom it will be both profitable and agreeable to read. Such are Prudentius, Sidonius, Paullinus, Aratus, Prosper, Juvencus. In many passages these can vie with any ancient writer—I mean in finish of poetical expression: in substance they are as far above them as good is above evil.”⁴

The need of wide reading, as a basis for both accurate knowledge of the structure of the language and a sense of true Latin style, was laid down by Vossius in the middle of the two hundred years marked off by the names of Vives and Facciolati in the classical scholarship of the South. He looked to such reading as a far surer basis for written style than any study of rules could give. “Few indeed to-day,” he writes, “can claim the merit of writing in pure Latin. Outside a very small number of elementary points, it may be said that rules are a hindrance to beginners, though they may help those who have already made some definite progress. No other guide for the formation of spoken and written style can be laid down, beyond reading and following older Latin writers.”⁵ And Facciolati, in a discourse on Latin studies delivered at Padua in 1713, confesses for himself that he had little belief in the *iter per praecepta* off which Quintilian warned students long before. “I owe all to Cicero, Terence, Livy, Cæsar, Virgil, Horace. Priscian has no claim for restitution against me, nor Valla, nor Donatus, nor

⁴ *Epistolicae Dissertationes*, I., c. 6.

⁵ *De Studiorum Ratione opuscula*, c. 2.

Sanchez, nor Emmanuel Alvarez himself, though once I read him with delight." The same sound practice is advised by J. G. Walch, author of a *Critical History of the Latin Language*, which, as a "Companion" for scholars of the time, had much influence in Germany at the opening of the eighteenth century. "Practice in daily speaking, with a very few grammar rules, will put us in the way of acquiring force and fluency in the use of language. Build on that base a practice of careful reading of authors."⁶ There is here no belief in the purely 'natural method' of learning languages: indeed Walch points out that those trained up under it, learning the language by conversational use mainly, are as a rule poor teachers of it in their turn, are liable to inveterate errors in spelling, have no taste for the reading of the language, and are often defective in the purity of idiomatic usage. All four faults have been alleged in very recent times against the 'direct method' as rigorously applied to modern languages, and also against recent experiments in the application, on a consistent plan, of these direct methods to the study of Greek and Latin. Throughout the whole of the Post-Renaissance period there was abundant partial use of the 'direct method': but it was always combined with reading, and with writing and speaking based on the results of that reading. Accuracy in idiomatic usage, it was held, could be attained only through such reading, as leading up to personal expression in true composition work. Johann Heinrich Boekler, and his colleague at Upsala, Johann Scheffer, enforce the

⁶ Preface to the Leipzig edition of Facciolati, 1714.

same view of the importance and purpose of reading for composition work, in their *Gymnasium Stili* (1690, Ed. Jena). The work, owing to the high scholastic repute of both its authors, obtained a wide circulation: it dealt at length with the use and adaptation of reading as a preliminary to stylistic exercises, carefully outlined the various types of these exercises, and the various helps and hindrances in the personal use of Latin.

The study of Latin authors was therefore quite different in type as carried on for purposes of erudition and the study of ancient civilisation, and as directed to the formative training of the secondary school. That the critical study of the great writers of the past was amply cultivated and highly esteemed, there is no necessity to prove in detail. The name of Lipsius is still in honour among the editors of Tacitus, and his is but one among the many names of those who won high repute in Europe for their exhaustive surveys of all that at the time could be said in commentaries on Latin prose and Latin verse alike. But all such work, however highly esteemed among the learned, was for the learned and finished scholar alone. Every one of them, as every secondary scholar at the time, had to attain mastery of the *dominatrix lingua* himself, before he could even think of asking a hearing for his critical investigations from the commonwealth of European scholars who had in that tongue a sole '*vinculum commune doctrinae*.' Personal mastery of a fluent, perspicuous and classical Latin style was the sole channel of self-expression, and even practised Latinists had to be ever on their guard for attacks such

as Milton made on Claude de Saumaise, and Scioppius, as the 'Italianiated' Schoppe styled himself, indulged in against such princes in the realms of erudition as Scaliger and Casaubon. The modern tendency to introduce critical study of textual, chronological and metrical problems into secondary schools—where under later German influence it has been dignified by the absurdly precocious name of scholarship—would never have been permitted in the days of Lipsius and of Gronovius. Even the controverted points in texts ordinarily read in schools were not considered proper issues to present to the minds of learners. Where mastery of the Latin language as an instrument is sought, where the youthful workman is learning how to use his tools, instruction dealing with questions suited only to the trained craftsman is quite out of place. Sturm laid down this wise rule, and illustrated it by his personal experience.⁷ Speaking of critical issues and uncertain texts, he decides that "seeing their nature, they ought to be passed over in schoolwork (*praetereunda censeo*). I remember that when I was a young man at Louvain, and was reading privately the speech of Cicero for Roscius, I skipped over the whole problem of the allegory about the lake. Later when at Paris I was lecturing publicly on this speech, I gave what explanation I could of the passage, after first consulting Budaeus. But I recall that during these lectures I recommended my hearers to do with such difficult passages what experienced tillers of the soil do in seed time and in harvest time—they go

⁷ Ad Werteros fratres Nobilitas Litterata, liber unus, ch. 15. Strassburg, 1549.

around the rocks in the field, if the cost of their removal would outweigh the profit to be derived from it."

During the whole nineteenth century secondary students in English schools, and in those Irish ones that unfortunately followed, more or less unwillingly, the English fashion, would always have to examine and even make-believe to uproot the obstacles that the most experienced teacher of his day in Central Europe considered they should pass by. It need hardly be said that the memorising of all the solutions proposed by great authorities for such difficulties, all the paraphernalia of conjectural readings and conjectural translations, no more advanced the cause of Latin studies in secondary schools than would the learning there of variant theories in Biblical Chronology advance the true knowledge of Religion. The multiplication of school commentaries constructed on such lines proceeded apace: they were needed in some places still, in control of education and educators. The product was but the dust of chaff, though it was called for in place of the good wheat offered in the class-rooms of the Post-Renaissance period.

Three periods can be distinguished in the treatment of Latin writers as handled in school work since their study for the purposes of literature was more or less abandoned. The vacant place was filled up either by over-elaborated grammar, or by the study of ancient civilisation and Germanic *realien*, or by textual criticism. A fourth period, during which Latin literature seems likely to become the bonds slave of archæological study, seems to be now opening: it is but a variation, though not a variation

for the better, on the lines of treatment long followed in Germany. During the sixteenth century some traces of all these did infiltrate into secondary education. More particularly this was the case with grammatical details, as a consequence of the *Bellum grammaticale* which prevailed throughout the domain of European scholarship in the time of Sanchez, Alvarez, Frischlin, and Schoppe. The untoward results of such studies as an influence on the curriculum of schools was pointed out in detail by Caselius as early as 1545, in a preface contributed to the Latin Grammar of Chytraeus, one of the most useful workers in the cause of grammatical reform. "Many writers," he complains, "display our unprofitable zeal in another direction, when they devote themselves to investigating and unravelling those passages in ancient writers which are cited in works on grammar. These hunters after single phrases lose a good deal of valuable time, and to my mind are engaged with the writings of great authors somewhat in the same way as the menial in a splendid mansion, who takes no interest in the display of rare treasures in gold and silver, but is wholly bent on carefully collecting and storing up the sweepings of the halls and courtyards. I blame these grammar mongers for overburdening and crushing the nascent abilities of learners. Grammar is a mere rule, not the process of building, nor the building. (*Amussis quaedam est grammatica, non aedificium nec ipsa aedificatio*).⁸ But it was not merely the use of the words of Latin authors as pegs on which to hang masses of misplaced erudition that had to be guarded

⁸ Quoted from the Lubeck Edition of Chytraeus, 1545.

against: the excessive development of rhetorical precepts would also hinder the true study of the writers in hand, and lead to a possible danger of empty formalism. Just as great literature was not constructed through grammar, neither was it built up by the rules of Rhetoric. "Even in the study of the art of eloquence," wrote Pastorius, "I should desire moderation. The vague reading of rules takes up a great deal of time, and does not directly form a good speaker (*oratorem per se non constituit*). The practical teacher will take pains to see that his pupils become able to recognise, under the rules themselves, that manly style of speech which will be effective in public discussion, and to distinguish it from mere academic exercises which will not endure the light of day. (*Eloquentiam masculam et in publicis negotiis valituram ab umbratica scholasticaque discat distinguere*). They should not always adhere to the minute directions of writers on the art of Rhetoric."⁹

The study of Latin writers was therefore not an end in itself, as far as the period extends when spoken Latin was still an essential part of education. Reading was still subordinate to writing and speaking, an order that has been substantially reversed in the schools of Continental Europe since that time. This raising of a once minor branch of schoolwork into a dominating position has been accompanied by another change, affecting the method by which the Latin writers are studied. The work done on them now largely consists in the acquisition of more or less classified information about the writer and his subject-

⁹ Op. cit., c. 9.

matter. The grammatical, metrical, historical problems connected with the writings in class-use have assumed special importance with the elevation of these writings to be the chief object in study. But though more time and care are now bestowed on these branches, they have to a large degree lost the active and personal character they once possessed. Formerly the composition-work of the school was expected to be in the main the result of a teacher's personal taste and skill. He was to choose the subject, aid the class in collecting and preparing the material for use, direct the actual writing at least in broad outline. And the handling of a Latin author was expected to be as personal as the preparation of composition. The commentaries, the critical editions, the elaborate annotations were not in the learner's hands at all: in all those subjects which cluster round a classical text the teacher was usually the sole channel by which information reached the scholars. If he were a wise and experienced man in the art of education, the amount of collateral erudition to be communicated would be very limited indeed. The verbose prolegomena of the school-edition of to-day would as a rule be divided into two parts, very differently treated. The first and far the briefer portion would be an oral exposition conveying just enough information to enable the class properly to "place" the writer and his work. This necessary preface to the term's work was expected to be done by the teacher himself, and to be exactly adjusted to the knowledge of the subject which the class had previously acquired. The introductory lesson was therefore not the

mere perfunctory reading of an introductory notice, but the living utterance of a guide who knew the road already travelled, and who was not merely providing 'average' information for an 'average' scholastic audience. Every teacher with an interest in his craft knows well that the pupil of 'average attainments' is never met with in the class-room: and this would alone suffice to explain why the introductory chapters of the modern 'school edition' are always ineffective. The rest of these chapters as they now usually stand, did not enter into the class exercises of the past, but in a vital and active way. The work now done beforehand by the editor was then done by the class for itself, under the direction of the teacher. The analysis and classification of the author's phraseology, clause structure, types of composition, illustration, argument; of special grammatical usages, metrical forms, range of simile and metaphor, were not to be done for the student, but by him. The reason for this is plain. The materials so acquired are only to be held as expedite and ready knowledge, if they are the result of the learner's own active work. The student of three hundred years ago read in order to write and speak with freshness, vigour, and aptness of phrase: in the whole of such reading its adaptability for his main purposes was his main concern, and incessantly stimulated him to observe, compare, note contrasts and analogies. The modern student reads in order to know: a certain degree of passive retentiveness as regards things read will amply serve his purposes. The former process was observation for use, the latter the acquisition for storage. The methods and purposes of

classical studies have therefore been to a large degree devitalised in the course of time; they have become largely passive instead of constantly active, and are rather a survey of others views than an active development of one's own. The main alteration is due to the treatment of classical subjects from the exclusively historic standpoint. Any subject of schoolwork which becomes history, which is treated as past, must inevitably fail to keep its sometime position in fact of other branches which are active and concerned only with the present. They may be retained in the curriculum, but they are rather annexed to it than really of it. Like history itself, they may be an attractive second course, but they cannot be the vital and formative elements in the educational bill of fare.

Erasmus has set out in succinct form the chief points which a teacher should touch on in personally handling the text of the author read by his class. They will serve as a synopsis of the issues to be raised by the 'prelection' which was so important an element in Post-Renaissance school work. "In the first place he should discuss briefly the position held by the writer, his ability, his qualities of style. Then, as clearly and concisely as possible, the gist of what he has to say should be stated. . . . He will call attention to any conspicuous brilliancy of expression, any archaism or innovation in phrase, any tendency to Greek usage; and also to any want of clearness, any diffuseness of expression, any fault in the arrangement of the topics which makes them harder to understand. . . . Finally he will touch on the philosophical aspects of the work, and will make fitting application of poetic

narrative for moral instruction (*ad philosophiam adveniat, et poetarum fabulas apte trahat ad mores*).¹⁰

From this it will be clear that while no important element for an understanding of the text was omitted, two characteristic points stand out prominently. First, there was a practical purpose behind all the explanatory process: it was not to result in mere knowledge or in mere contemplation. The scholar was to be led to examine both the subject matter and the form of the writer, with a view to subsequent personal use. Secondly, there was no criticism in the merely appreciative sense, no inclination to regard even great classical writers as impeccable models in regard of what was needed in the days of Erasmus himself. It has often been thought that Cicero in particular was regarded as identical with literary perfection, much as in English critical writing for nearly a hundred years, Shakespeare has been dealt with as subject to admiring exposition, and no more. The very tendency so marked in the sixteenth century, to consider Tacitus and Seneca, nay even Melanchthon and Lipsius, as models of Latin style, would suffice to disprove this view. Close study and persistent imitation of Cicero no more made Latinists then the slavish worshippers of his style, than did Stevenson's absorption in the literary manner of Burton and Browne make him the mere "sedulous ape" of their methods. Penetrating examination of an author's elements of style can lead to independent mastery and use of the best he has to give, quite as well as to the inclination to fall down and worship his genius and art.

¹⁰ De Ratione Studiorum Tractatus, c. 7.

Which of these results will arise from school-practice, depends on the teaching tradition of the period, and on the question whether it is the teacher or the text-book that is the real master in the class-room.

The closing words of the citation given above from Erasmus touch on an important aspect of classical teaching in which modern practice has diverged from the customary procedure of the Post-Renaissance period. It is easy to see how in the purely historic and 'static' study of the Greek and Roman world as the basis and source of modern civilisation (according to recent German theory) or as an 'ideal' civilisation in itself (as Wolf and Winckelmann held), effective criticism of the moral aspects of that pagan world would be quite out of place. The growing practice of regarding Greece and Rome in an absolute, and not in a relative way, is traceable before the French Revolution, and is indeed conspicuous in the orators of that stormy period. Such non-comparative study of the pagan civilisation of Greece and Rome must have led to some of the evils which were deplored in the Gaumist controversies, and to the belief that 'pagan studies' were the 'ver rongeur' at the root of modern civilisation. Even a cursory examination of the writers on education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would show that they expected no opportunity to be allowed to pass of judging the views and practice of Greek and Roman by the standard of Christian law. At the opening of the period Vives laid down this principle in two striking passages. Writing to Queen Katharine on the education of her daughter he urged that "the

authors with which she will become acquainted will be those who instruct and improve the reader not in language alone, but in morals also, and who teach not merely right knowledge (*bene scire*), but also right living (*bene vivere*)."¹¹ Elsewhere¹² he enters on a full discussion of the fitness of several authors, usually read in schools, for educative purposes: and he makes it clear that moral suitability is not a question to be decided on general grounds, but that the individual learner must be taken into the estimate. Ovid and Martial are excluded: the admission of Lucian is left doubtful, since he is *maledicus et subsannator*. If a pupil is inclined to vanity, even Cicero is hardly a suitable work for study: (*gloriosulo non multum conferet*) unless it is persistently inculcated that vanity, even in men of great gifts and high position, gives rise to contempt, if not to jealousy and hatred also. The doctrine of Vives was, as is well known, held and practised in the later part of the sixteenth century by Sturm, whose educational idea was to train to *sapiens et eloquens pietas*. And at the close of the seventeenth century Jouvancy, writing an official text-book on education for all Jesuit schools throughout the Old World and the New, pointed out that the study of pagan antiquity in and for itself was alien to the spirit and tradition of Christianity. "The interpretation of authors should be such as to make them all, however wordly and pagan they may be, to act as heralds of Christ. All class-work should be directed to the praise of virtue, and the reproof of

¹¹ *Epistolica dissertatio*, I., c. 14.

¹² *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, III., fol. 472.

vice. Praise what is good when met in ancient writers, condemn what is bad . . . A wise teacher, however, will avoid doing all this so as to weary and cause aversion in his pupils: it will be found useful to mingle pleasantries, spoken and written, with the classwork. . . . Any pieces produced in the school theatre, any plots of plays written, should be religious in tone, and be drawn from sacred history of the past, rather than from profane.”¹³

The study of Greek and Roman Literature, during these two centuries, was therefore a means rather than an end. By a series of active exercises, pupils were called on to handle and criticise the texts read, chiefly with a view to personal use of the results of such reading, by way of self expression through both the written and the spoken word. And throughout all schoolwork, the pagan past was to be freely judged from the Christian standpoint, and to be made to subserve the purposes of a Christian civilisation. In this dominant purpose, Southern and Northern Europe found absolutely common ground.

13 *Ratio discendi et docendi*, Part II., c. III.

CHAPTER XII.

Grammatical Studies.

THE range of meaning given in the Post-Renaissance period to the word 'Grammar' was far wider than the narrowly-limited usage of to-day would imply. Modern associations of the term often tend to create the impression that the 'Grammar School' and the 'Class of Grammar' were intended chiefly for memorising of Accidence and Syntax, and that all other exercises and studies are of more recent development, or in some sense alien to the strictly formal teaching which the word now seems to imply. The impression has thus been created that '*Grammatica*' involved years spent in the practice of declensions and conjurgations, in memorising rules of syntax and exceptions, and in the merely iterative drill which often accompanies such types of schoolwork. It has also led to the belief that in language-study of that period Grammar was regarded as an end, quite as much or even more than as a means: a view not a little aided by certain kinds of argument used by incautious and unhistoric defences made for classical studies in recent years. Insistence on elementary study of Latin, going no further than the very verge of acquaintance with Latin literature and composition, was justified by the need of

‘intellectual gymnastic’ and ‘systematic drill’ as valuable training in accuracy—and in drudgery. All this implies the elevation of ‘grammar,’ in the modern sense, into a subject occupying an independent and substantive position in the curriculum. That it had come in some respects to be regarded in the middle of the Post-Renaissance period we can gather from William Bathe, who admits that the method of his *Janua Linguarum* does not afford adequate training for this special end of grammar study. But he specially notes that this purpose is only a secondary one: the main object of grammar he defines to be ‘fitting expression of thought,’ and that for practical purposes, more than for the extension of scientific co-ordination.¹ The treatment during the period 1500—1700 of ‘grammar’ as now understood, the range of work expected in a ‘class of grammar,’ and the controversies concerned with these questions, will to some extent be set forth in this chapter.

The mediæval system of studies, more especially in the period of decline of scholastic philosophy which had fully begun by 1350, tended in a marked degree to transform all the seven liberal arts into handmaids (ancillae) of philosophical speculation. In its turn also, philosophy became the assistant of theology. The result was a system of ‘concentration’ of studies, quite as drastic in its results as any of the modern advocates of this principle, such as Schiller of Giessen, could desire. The main objection to making one subject of intellectual work a centre to which all others are to be referred, is that im-

1 Prefatory Tractate to the *Janua*, Chapter VI.

portant portions of these subordinated departments are liable to be neglected, and to perish from atrophy, when they cannot easily be worked into rigidly concentrated curriculum. The mediæval concentration plan, however, had quite opposite results as regards what we now call grammar: while on the other branches of mediæval grammar it had the effect usually to be looked for. Vives, in a remarkable passage of one of his least-examined works, has indicated these divergent consequences of the application to 'grammatica' of the degenerate methods of the fourteenth and fifteenth century school-men. "It would be a wonder if the practice of disputation and altercation had left this department of studies unaffected. The smaller issues, really belonging to grammar, such as the knowledge of antiquities, of mythology, of history: the critical examination of passages in authors, the range of correct usage of words, and problems of metric, were judged unsuited as material for controversy and dispute in the schools. . . . But from other branches topics were introduced into grammar, which provoked and fostered long-drawn-out disputation. This was easily achieved by men whose primary object was dialectic: at that time they had full possession of the schools which should be schools of letters. It was a necessary consequence, when knowledge of subjects was not expected except in as far as they helped in disputation. So from logic they imported into grammar the discussion of schemes for definition and classification, and subject matter for consecutive disputation."²

² Vives, *de causis Corruptarum Artium*, Bk. II., init.

The desire to restore other sections of 'grammar' to their proper position in the secondary curriculum, and to reduce the inordinate expansion of the purely structural side of the subject, was the chief result of the Renaissance movement as regards school-practice. The practice of disputation was of course to be retained, but in a modified form: such a work as Donatus, the usual grammar of mediæval Europe, fell gradually out of use: and it is significant of this movement that among the authors used in the Roman College of the Jesuits, previous to 1575, one of the 'reformed grammars' has a prominent place, and is described as *Lilii Angli libellus*.³ The movement for the simplification of formal grammar was closely connected with the cognate agitation for the purification of Latin style: indeed the workers for these two objects were often the same. But the rejection of non-classical, mediæval Latin was not in all cases connected with the rejection of elaborate study of technical grammar, or with the abandonment of what are known as 'scholastic forms' in teaching. A conspicuous instance of a good Latin scholar who yet adhered to the older and by then traditional importance of Latin Grammar, was Philip Melanchthon. It is well known that in methods of teaching he remained strictly scholastic: and the custom thus perpetuated with the great authority of the *Præceptor Germaniæ* is evident in the whole system on which Kant lectured more than two hundred years later. From the whole tone of

³ Ledesma's MS. account, printed in *Monumenta Pedagogica*, Madrid, 1901, p. 350. Other works named are Codret, Guarini Syntaxis, Calepinus, Nizolius, Clenardi Rudimenta linguæ Graecæ, Paulus Manutius, Desputère, Scaliger de Arte Poetica, Vida de arte poetica. The books thus represent the educational publications of all Western Europe.

Melanchthon's views on formal grammar-teaching, it is clear that the 'direct method,' aiming at speech and reading in a language before its regular grammatical structure has been mastered, was definitely propounded in Germany before 1540. Its supporters are described as endeavouring to introduce into school-practice the plan, or want of plan, by which illiterate soldiers learn to speak French while living among French people. They are represented as hoping for some such result, without grammar rules, from conversation with Latin writers (*utcumque colloquantur cum auctoribus*). The plan is described as 'pernicious' and as leading to 'the breaking up of laws,' since these are akin to the rules of art. After enlarging on the evil consequences to public order of so fostering the natural lawlessness of youth, Melanchthon turns to an apter line of argument, and challenges the results of the new system. "Anyone who thinks a reliable knowledge of a language can be acquired without the study of rules, is completely in error. The evidence of facts draws this admission from those who have abandoned rules, and learned to associate words together from the reading of authors alone. Even if such reading provide enough of customary expressions for ordinary conversation, what will they do, if a subject, requiring treatment at some length, has to be set forth by them? How will they understand the way to knit their sentences together, and connect the various parts of a speech, unless they have full knowledge of the whole plan of Latin Syntax?"⁴

⁴ Melanchthon's Works, Ed. 1541 T. 5: pp. 75—8.

The only proof that Melanchthon offers of his assertion that the evidence of facts is with him, is contained in his personal experience, cited in the same Preface to his Syntax. "I have frequently known of boys who possessed a large stock of words, yet did not venture to speak Latin, since they did not possess an accurate knowledge of the structure of Latin. All their toil over good literature had come to naught, because they had not mastered the syntax." The practical conclusion Melanchthon comes to may be taken as an emphatic assertion of what Bathe described as the 'rule-way' (*via regularis*). "I think that for these reasons a boy should be kept back for a long time in this part of grammar, until he has come to know all the rules for linking words together, and can boldly offer himself as capable of planning a speech (*architectum orationis*)."⁵

The extent of the demand thus made by Melanchthon for the study of traditional and formal grammar may be judged by the Syntax from the preface to which these citations are made, and from the Accidence which preceded it. The former covers 93 folio pages, and the latter 75, all closely printed. Bearing in mind that the rules and examples are in all cases very succinct, it will be seen that this massive treatise, imposed on the schools of Central Germany, effectually precluded any development there of the 'rule-less way.' Before the century closed, however, the publishing centres in Melanchthon's country were busy in issuing far briefer grammars, the fruit of the *Bellum Grammaticale* in which Frischlin was a leader,

⁵ Op. cit., p. 78.

and Taubmann, successor of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, a polemical writer. Twenty years more saw the issue in Saxony of the 'new methods' of Rhenius, of Ratke and his fellow-workers, of Frischlin, and of William Bathe. And the close of a hundred years of Melanchthon's school-code was marked by the issue of Comenius' *Janua*, in Leipzig itself; a sufficient indication of how educational opinion had moved away from the grammar method.

Though the views of Vives and Melanchthon on the importance and position of grammar differed widely, the Spanish writer by no means shared the extreme views of many of the reform party. For Vives *Grammatica ex usu auctorum nata est; ideo hic est arti praeferendus, quum discrepant*. But in the formal teaching of true grammar he fully believed: *ars tamen necessaria est, quae recte et emendate loqui ex observatione est*.⁶ It was however, as the last words show, to be a grammar-study which sent the learner to the author, not the type that severed his work from the source of grammar. To this latter Melanchthon's expressed and implied views clearly tended. Grammar in his work is precept, and no more. The result of Melanchthon's cult of 'rules for the sake of rules' would naturally be an exorbitant expenditure of time and energy on them. That the practice of so studying grammar was frequent throughout the whole period, 1500 to 1700, there is abundant evidence. The simplification of such works as Alexander de Villedieu and Donatus had provided for beginners in the middle ages, was called for in the first sixty years of the two hundred, partially

⁶ *Epistolica Dissertatio*, I., c. 14.

secured in the next sixty, and even at the close of the epoch was by no means universal. The situation at the beginning of the movement can be gathered from Erasmus.⁷ After pointing out, as Gretser did a hundred years later with more effect, that in grammar study the comparative and concurrent learning of Greek and Latin has considerable efficacy,⁸ he continues: "Though I admit that grammar rules are necessary, I do so on condition that they are made as few as possible. I have never liked the way of teachers, who keep scholars back for several years for grammar drill. Real ease in accurate speaking of Latin is best acquired by (a) conversational intercourse with polished speakers, (b) constant reading of writers who have a sense of oratorical style." Crenius, in his edition of this work by Erasmus, issued in 1692, adds an illuminating note to the passage just cited: "Quite correct. The educational road should be as short as possible. We should reject the practice of those who burden learners' minds with a horde of rules and exceptions. . . . Most teachers to-day give instruction in language, not to give mastery of the language itself, but to produce experts in Grammar. This is the height of absurdity."⁹ Writing in 1545 at Lubeck, Caselius desired to have the formal study of the subject limited to accident, thus escaping from the tangled mass of syntactical rules which he regarded as a waste of energy formally to learn. "I consider that the chief value of

7 *De ratione Studii*, c. 2.

8 *Alter alteri sic affinis est, ut ambae citius percipi queant conjunctim, quam altera sine altera; certe quam Latina sine Graeca.*
Op. cit. c. 2.

9 *Consilia et methodi*. Amsterdam, 1692.

this general subject consists in the inflexions of words. In these I should desire scholars to be so thoroughly drilled, that they would be more ready to answer than a practised Latinist. Let precepts and rules be made as light a burden as possible, and let pupils then be brought at once into contact with, and required to grasp the meaning of Latin writers.”¹⁰

The difference of attitude denoted by the observation of grammatical usage, as incidental to reading, and the formal study and memorising of rules, was insisted on by one of the combatants in the *Bellum Grammaticale*, J. T. Freigius, in the Preface to his specimen of a new school grammar of a simple character.¹¹ “Some grammarians hinder rather than help the efforts of learners, by over-diffuseness of treatment: others err by want of clear order and by tautology. I have left out a great number of syntactical rules, because they were based on sentences that did not survive critical examination: and still more, because they dealt with points that should rather be observed when they occur, than imitated or even formally studied.”

As long as grammar remained the handmaid of writing and speech, the educational ideal of making it as brief and clear as possible could be aimed at with substantial success. But any attempt to make it a formal study valuable by its very complexity and its usefulness for controversy, as in the mediæval period, at once brought the exceptional and rare usages of the language into undue

10 *De ludo litterario recte aperiendo*. 1545.

11 *Latina Grammatica ad usum puerorum*. Nuremberg, 1595.

prominence. In the period from 1500 to 1700, the battle for the simplification of grammar was waged rather against the intrusion of the results of critical study of texts into the actual grammatical studies of schools. Learners were expected by 'scholars' to be acquainted not merely with the type of construction they could rightly use in speech or writing, but also with the various types of construction possible, their relative frequency, and the varying predilections of authors for specific usages. Little of all this accumulation of positive knowledge would serve to enlarge and improve the learner's power to express his own thoughts in his own way: and this was the mastery that the Renaissance movement aimed at. Hence came the effort to have grammar no longer the subject-matter for disputation, nor again a repertory of details to be laboriously memorised, but rather a basis for active exercise in conjunction with spoken and written Latin; and with reading as subserving them. Pastorius pointed out that the gathering of examples to illustrate the main rules of grammar should be done by learners themselves, and that the strain of memory work will thus be greatly lightened: the active work required will be done *ultro et per lusum, nam et ipsa quaerendi curiositas excitabit recreabitque puerum*.¹² The use of a succinct grammar by a class as a means of ordering the practice of Latin conversation, was dwelt on at length by Gabriel Naudaeus: "Let simple conversation and dialogues be interlinked with the study of the briefest possible set of grammatical rules. Each should help in securing the practice of the

¹² De juventutis instituendae ratione Diatribe, c. 3.

other: and then should follow the reading of texts at once."¹³

The gradual modification, since the close of the Post-Renaissance period in classical studies, of the Renaissance ideal, has naturally been accompanied by an increased degree of attention to the mastery of grammatical detail, in England sometimes strangely associated with scholarship. It was in Germany that grammar-study first asserted its claim to share in the general elevation of *realia* to the first place in language work. As formulated by Eckstein, the object of grammar-study in Latin is "to serve as a base for grammatical instruction in general, and to train the mind to the understanding of the laws that regulate the expression of thought."¹⁴ The reading of authors had already been substituted, as the main purpose of classical education, for the command of the written and the spoken word. But the grammar-specialists did not mean to let their subject be subordinated in its entirety to any purpose outside its own. That "Latin grammar ought not be considered as a mere aid to the study of authors, and should be taught as a means of formal instruction," may be taken as an expression of the views of the "new school." The views of Eckstein and of the Congresses of Gymnasium Teachers in Germany from 1850 to 1890 were shared by Madvig, and were perhaps an unexpected result of the dethronement of Latin speech and writing from their dominant position. The study of civilisation, as such, has little connection with the study of laws of grammar for the sake of

¹³ *Syntagma de studio liberali*, second edn. Rimini, 1633, c. 11.

¹⁴ *Lateinischer Unterricht*, p. 77.

grammar. Wolf and his followers developed the former tendency, only to see the grammarian claim to share in the spoils of conquest. The result was to be seen in the type of grammars produced for school use during the period when the cult of grammar prevailed: Zumpt, Madvig, Kennedy are instances which need only be referred to. It was noticeable also in the conversion of even Greek and Latin orators and poets into subjects on which, in the words of William II., the dissecting grammarian could ply his scalpel. Little attention was paid to helping the learner to grasp the author's ideas and lines of argument and illustration: but the mere vehicle of such ideas, the casual word, the rare construction, claimed all the attention of the annotator even for school use. Into the resulting 'notes' were poured all the erudition and painstaking research of German classical scholarship, and even men of taste and brilliant achievements in 'classical prose and verse' were content, as editors of texts, to re-handle the shapeless masses of grammatical lore which Germany exported, and to relieve their feelings by an occasional caustic comment on German lack of taste and of poetic feeling. Grammar was thus restored for forty years to the position of supremacy in classical studies which it occupied in the middle ages. It was then transformed by philosophy for the purpose of disputation: in the nineteenth century it claimed to be a basis for "the study of the laws and thought and expression," but was really only a receptacle for a never-ending series of rules, exceptions, classifications, and examples. Rare constructions were not longer to be noted *ut incidunt*, as Erasmus

enjoined: they were more needful than even the quite usual ones.

The revival of the study of grammar as an independent branch of education has often been justified on the ground that there is some special value in the mastering of a system of rules. No doubt there is. But the study of a system, as a system, is one that belongs to a later stage of education, when the faculty of consecutive reasoning has been well-developed, and is equipped with a full range of expression. The nexus of one rule with another can easily be understood by an average pupil at the secondary stage. But to grasp a complete scheme of rules, with the inter-relations of all its parts, is as clearly beyond his power as would be the realisation of a system of philosophy. Indeed, any study of "the laws which govern the expression of thought" is certain, if relied on as a leading method of formal culture, to become as philosophical as the exposition of grammar was in the mediæval period. The study of a branch involving much of philosophical expression, and many debateable issues, such as would be the study of classical grammar as a means of grasping general grammar, is futile unless the critical power is present in the student. To complicate ordinary language-study by an alliance between it and the study of linguistic, is to run the risk of depriving both branches of all effectiveness as educational instruments. The main purpose of all literary work in secondary, as in primary education, is to give facility in self-expression: it is not a mastery of the special technique of departments allied to, but not essential elements in literature. The general aim

of such works as those of Bathe and his editors was to secure that learners of Latin would have in succinct form a hand-book to the general range of cultured knowledge which Latin embraced in their day. Comenius superimposed on this non-specialised form of classical study a range of knowledge encyclopaedic rather than general, and technical rather than usual. But neither Comenius nor Bathe saw any use in the study of grammar save as a means for the ordinary expression of thought: and the constructions they use in their sentences are always direct and simple, such as a brief hand-book of Latin grammar would furnish. To overload this necessary study of language by adding exhaustive treatment of what is rare and exceptional, or by notes and commentaries representing mere erudition, was denounced by Caselius as a perverse system of education. "Grammar is a guide to reading: I might properly say also, to the language we use in speech and in writing. A grammar handbook should therefore contain but little: no large volume is needed. Away with such follies out of the classroom: the object of instruction should be to secure manifest progress. Teachers should aid their pupils by repeating the easier portions of the subject, and by a succinct and clear explanation of the harder rules, not by voluminous masses of notes. It is a mistake, too, for teachers to display any power of subtle distinction before boys, in definitions, in divisions of a subject, in exhaustive classification of what is unessential. All that is useless for the purpose in view.¹⁵ Vossius held the same view. "The grammar

¹⁵ Preface to *Latin Grammar*: ed. Helmstadt, 1625.

that a boy needs can be expressed in twenty pages: A great deal usually forced into such books is pure philosophy, and cannot be grasped by beginners. These questions should be studied at their proper time, when the learner and his studies are both more advanced. They can then realise the nature and underlying principles of the expression of thought" (*sermonis etiam naturam et causas intelligent*)¹⁶

Another reform in the practical use of grammar in schools is notably associated with Vossius and his work in the Low Countries. The various types of grammars caused a confusion of terminology and of method almost as great as prevails in Europe at present: and though there was not as frequent an opportunity to change from one secondary school to another, then as now, the effect of such a change was apparently worse in retarding the pupils' true progress. Justus Lipsius had personally experienced this, and records it with evident feeling. "When I was a boy, I was taught from three different grammars, in consequence of having thrice changed residence. Thus I had to spend five years in variations of the same worthless matter. . . . The same errors are committed every day now, not so much because teachers are lacking in skill, as because they wish to assert themselves even at the cost of their scholars."¹⁷

The need of organised uniformity as to grammatical teaching and terminology led to several successful attempts to provide a single text-book for general use in

¹⁶ De studiorum ratione, c. 5.

¹⁷ Cent. I. Epist. Miscell. No. 94.

schools. The Jesuit Colleges in Europe, which steadily expanded in numbers and influence throughout the seventeenth century, adhered for the lower classes to the Latin Grammar of Emmanuel Alvarez, better known in English-speaking countries as the author of the most succinct of treatises on Latin Prosody. It was to his grammar that Facciolati paid an eloquent tribute of esteem in 1713, though he advocated the use of the Latin writers themselves as the true source of Latinity. Alvarez himself would have shared this view. Even Schoppe, whose attempt to replace Alvarez by his own series of grammars has been recorded elsewhere, admits the superiority of the Portuguese Jesuits' rules on prosody. Throughout the schools of Germany Alvarez enjoyed as high a reputation as he did in Latin lands: and J. N. Funck, writing in 1730, ranks his Latin grammar with the cognate works of Frischlin, Linacer, Sanctius and Vossius, as a leading writer on the structure of the Latin Language.¹⁸

Within more limited areas, and in Northern Europe especially, many attempts were made to unify grammatical schoolwork. Two of them may be cited as examples of a whole series. The transition from the mediæval type of text-book is well shown by the position taken in the school world of Flanders, towards the close of the sixteenth century, by the grammar of Simon Verepæus. His *Progymnasmata* was published at Antwerp in 1572: it was a shortened version of Despautere, and even as late as 1750 it still ranked as an

¹⁸ De lectione Auctorum Classicorum ad comparandam Latinae linguae facultatem. Lemgoviae, 1730, chap. 5, sect. 1.

excellent book for school use. Verepaeus, who was Rector of the Secondary School at Bois-le-duc, had the satisfaction of seeing his grammar prescribed as the sole textbook for Belgian schools, to the exclusion of the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Ville Dieu, and of all other writers, older or contemporary. The new grammar did not stand alone. Verepaeus saw the importance of preparing, in sequence with it, a series of works for use in the advanced classes. It was followed by his chief work on Latin composition, *De Epistolis Latine conscribendis, Libri V.*, of which many editions followed that of Antwerp, 1579. The influence of Erasmus on the school-practice of the Low Countries is seen distinctly in another work by Verepaeus, *Præceptiones de verborum et rerum copia, in usum scholarum*, which appeared at Cologne in 1582. The very title shows how false is the assumption that the teaching of Latin had fallen into a condition of verbal formalism, from which it was to be rescued by writers such as Comenius. Lastly, the *Exercitationes studiorum* appeared at Bois-le-duc in 1585. It was a practical treatise providing full materials for securing an accurate knowledge of Latin idiom in school-work, and for eliminating the influence of imported constructions, borrowed from the many vernacular tongues that even then struggled for supremacy in the Netherlands. Like many other books of the time, it showed the influence of Valla, whose *Elegantiae*, with additions infinite in their variety, was a handbook to purity of Latin style down to the French Revolution. The fine collection of seventeenth-century schoolbooks made by Archbishop Marsh,

and now to be found at the Library that bears his name in Dublin, contains some half-dozen copies of Valla's work, revised and added to by various editors. Ten editions of it were published at Cologne in the sixteenth century: and not unlike the subsequent works of Bathe and Comenius, it was published repeatedly throughout various European countries. The high esteem in which it was held is shown by Linacer's verdict that Valla merited as highly of the Latin tongue as did Camillus of the Roman Republic.

The other conspicuous instance of a grammar which obtained exclusive currency in the schools of an important portion of Europe, is the *Latina Grammatica* of Gerard Vossius. A beautifully-printed copy of the fifth edition is among Archbishop Marsh's books; and the preface fully explains the circumstances which led to the writing of so elementary a work by so great a classical scholar and theologian. Vossius there records that during his own schooldays the grammar in almost universal use in schools around the lower Rhine region was that composed by Ludolf Lithocomus in 1575. The writer in question was Rector of the school at Dusseldorf, and wrote expressly for his own classes. As in the case of Sturm's writings at Strassburg, the Dusseldorf grammar came to be used in many Dutch and German towns. At the close of the century, the advances made in grammar-knowledge caused other works to be introduced in the district, and between the adherents of Lithocomus and the innovating teachers there arose a local *bellum grammaticale*. The result was considerable inconvenience, as in a region where

mercantile enterprise flourished it was not uncommon for scholars to pass from one school to another during the period of secondary studies. So about 1605 the States of Holland and West-Frisia joined in a request to Vossius that he should produce a Grammar which all the schools should use. They desired that he should as far as possible preserve the order of treatment and the very wording used by Lithocomus. The result of his undertaking was a concise textbook which had immense influence. By 1700 no less than nine editions were printed in Amsterdam, and there were many more produced at Leyden, Rotterdam, Hildesheim, Rinteln, and Wittenburg.

By the same year, however, the demand for the presentation of Latin through the vernacular had definitely made itself felt in Germany. The effort to secure a State-imposed uniformity of text-books of the pure Latin type was of course continued into the following century: a typical instance is that *Grammatica Marchiana* which the first King in Prussia had composed to his order by the rectors of the four Gymnasia of Berlin in 1716—17. The example of *Nouvelle Methode* of Port Royal, based on the view of Maresius that Latin Grammar should be written of in the vernacular, found numerous followers in both Germany and France. For a considerable time the text-books composed in Latin and in German were produced and used side by side; and scholars such as Bohmius published as well a *Praxis Syntaxeos*¹⁹ as a *Lateinischer Syntaxis*.²⁰ An attempt to combine the two

²⁰ Jena, 1707.

¹⁹ Jena, 1724.

vehicular languages in one grammar was made by Ursinus the younger, in his *Institutiones quibus Lingua Latina et praecepta vernacula solide traduntur*.²¹ He expressed the rules in German, and subjoined the explanatory comment on them in Latin. It is not probable that these text-books partly or wholly expressed in German had more than a local influence: the strong tradition of European scholarship adhered, down into the nineteenth century, to the use of an exclusively classical manual, though adequate oral explanation was always given in the vernacular to beginners. The teaching of Latin Grammar in the Post Renaissance period was therefore not unlike the teaching of foreign modern languages to-day where the rigid 'direct method' has in practice been modified by the subordinate use of the vernacular in the introduction stages of language-study. The unknown is best reached by stepping-stones set in the known.

²¹ Ratisbon, 1700.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Position of Greek.

THE preceeding chapters contain some indications of how the aims of classical study underwent some notable modifications from the period of Erasmus and Vives down to that of Wolf and Winckelmann. Even within the nineteenth century, while the older humanities have been constantly battling for the right to exist, there have been marked alterations made in the policy of defence, as also in the methods and purpose of classical teaching. The transition which has taken place within the last hundred years is marked by the name of von Humboldt at its opening, and by that of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf at its close.

The controversies whose stages are marked by these great names in the world of classical scholarship have had very little influence on the attitude of classical scholarship in the English-speaking world. In particular, the later German views, according to which the classical languages are to be studied because they embody a civilisation which is the source and basis of our own, have had no place in the lines of classical defence adopted in the United Kingdom and in America. The striking views of von

Wilamowitz, on the need of reforming the content of classics as read in schools, had given rise to a cloud of controversial essays in Germany from 1900 to 1903, but were hardly known in England till their distinguished author advanced them once more, in the *Classical Review* for February, 1907. Yet they are but the practical realisation of a point of view prevalent in Germany for more than a century, and which could find much to justify itself in the position accorded to Greek studies during the Post-Renaissance period. The fact is that on the argumentative side there has been no reasoned justification in English for the place occupied by classical studies in the Secondary School system. It has been secured, as far as it is secured, by what is called tradition. Viewed not on the side of logical defence, but on that of simple practice, one main difference exists between the position of classics within the sphere of English influence, and their status on the Continent. We have become accustomed to think that when Greek is done at all, it should be worked with the same thoroughness, and attain to the same thoroughness, and attain to the same comprehensive completeness, as Latin studies do. This was an unvarying tradition of English classical schools down to a few years ago: indeed it may be said to be untouched save by a resolution of the Classical Association of England, passed a very few years ago. That resolution made certain concessions, amounting to the admission of Greek of a modified type for students who were not meant to be educated through classics as a staple subject. The difference so made was new in England. It has always

existed, for all types of secondary work, on the Continent.

The finished classical product of the secondary school system in England and in the lands within her educational control, is expected to be equally equipped in both the great classical languages—in their literature, and in composition work of all the types known in English schools. No such equality of standard is known in France or Germany. The historical basis of this dual sovereignty in English school-work has never, as far as I know, been fully investigated. It may perhaps be connected with a differentiation in Latin studies, as pursued in England, from the Continental type. Even as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, the disuse of spoken Latin in English schools, no less than the purposed change in the sounds of Latin vowels served to divide the English school-world from the brotherhood of humane studies which still held sway throughout Continental Europe. It is possibly a result of this disuse, that Greek studies, and in particular Greek composition, assumed a kind of compensatory importance in the English school-practice since that time. As a result, the defence of Greek studies in England has hitherto been a defence of an intensive type of work which has no parallel outside English-speaking lands. There Latin has never been for centuries what it has always been on the Continent, the *dominatrix lingua* in the domain of education and of scholarship. Greek has always claimed an equal share of influence, and equal pride of place.

The maintenance of classical subjects in Continental school-systems was and is much simplified by the

acknowledged pre-eminence of Latin as a subject of instruction. As has already been pointed out, Latin was accorded this position on strictly practical grounds: even the special cult of Greek literature which marked the Renaissance period in Italy, and the epoch of religious revolt in Germany, did not secure the second language any increase of importance in school curricula. The reasons for this primacy accorded to Latin over Greek were stated adequately by Freigius in 1595. "Quintilian wishes that boys should begin their studies with Greek, because Latin they have already by usage. But in our times we are in the habit of making Latin the foundation. In all departments of public life, the expedite use of Latin, both for speaking and writing, is necessary: it is called for in matters of religion, of civil and of canon law, and in all branches of social and international intercourse. The text-books in various branches of knowledge, the codes of law themselves are taught and learned in Latin in the schools. It is by sharing in common the Latin language that peoples and kingdoms are kept in union. In Greek it is not ability to speak or to write it, but only the power to understand it, that is commonly judged to be needful. Even this understanding of the language is called for only over a small range of subjects, such as those bearing on religion and the study of the professional side of scholarship. Here knowledge ought to be drawn from the primary sources, to secure its purity: and these subjects were first dealt with in Greek."¹

The capital utility of Greek studies was therefore,

1 *De Exercitiis Linguae Latinae*, p. 57.

according to this view, centred in the stores of knowledge which they opened up. They were not so much formative and disciplinary in their processes, as enriching and supplemental. Vives pointed out that "when knowledge of Greek is possessed, all the sources of knowledge developed by that nation lie open before us. We come into intellectual communion with those mighty minds in which Greece was always most fruitful."² The language was a subsidiary one, cultivated mainly because it provided materials for adding to the range of thought and expression which Latin provided: Vives enumerates among its advantages that it would lead to a "*copia Latini sermonis instructor.*"

The additional resources which Greek would put at the disposal of the Post-Renaissance student fell under two main heads: professional knowledge, and the deeper study of eloquence. Vossius remarks that in his day—the early portion of the seventeenth century—more knowledge of Greek is required in the case of the doctor than in that of the lawyer³: it is obvious that medical science then stood much more in need of Galen and Hippocrates, than jurisprudence did of the Greek systems of law. The statement of Vossius would appear to be held true to-day by those who would reverse the more recent cultivation of Greek prose as typified by Plato and Demosthenes, and of Greek poetry, to concentrate attention on the more technical side of literature. The scheme proposed by von Wilamowitz would make the final reading courses in

² Epistol. Dissert II., c. 15.

³ De ratione Studii, c. 5.

secondary schools consist of history as represented by *Aristotle's Politeia*, *Polybius*, *Priscus*, and *Athenaeus*: only a small admixture of ten chapters or so of Thucydides would be allowed, in addition to the study of his presentation of the statesmanship of Pericles. To such professional study of history in Greek sources would be added a good deal of Greek Science, through selections from Euclid, Strabo, Hippocrates, Hieron, and Athenaeus. Hygiene would be represented by extracts such as the description of Epilepsy by Hippocrates. Philosophy would be reduced to the study of Christian Antiquities, with some reference to Aesthetics and Criticism. Poetry would be banished from the secondary study of Greek, quite as effectively as it was from Plato's Republic. "In Germany the schoolboy vision is practically confined to Homer and Sophocles. . . . The choice of books now depends on their æsthetic or humanistic interest in the background. The language must not be studied for its own sake."⁴

It is substantially true that the scheme of Greek reading here advocated comes closer to the Renaissance view than does the more modern tendency to concentrate on the purely literary side of the language and its contents. Though it would always be a great loss to surrender Greek oratory and poetry and philosophy, more attention could be given to the professional and scientific sides of Greek Literature were Latin maintained as a chiefly formative and stylistic study. It was so dealt with in the seventeenth century, and this fact alone justified the placing

⁴ Classical Review, Feb. 1907.

of Greek in the position of a subordinate medium of education, the luggage van of the scholastic train. But now Latin has been completely altered in purpose and use as an educational instrument. The active exercises of the old regime have largely disappeared; in their place have arisen the study of authors as a reflex of civilisation, the study of oratory and poetry as a basis for the knowledge of syntax and metric. In face of this transformation, the reading of Greek oratory and poetry (not to dwell on philosophy) calls for preservation as the most effective realisation now possible of the older "*literae humaniores*."

Under that system it was fully realised that the mastery of Greek need never be as thorough as that of Latin. Pastorius, who wrote in Eastern Europe, and was more in contact with an existing Greek civilisation than Western lands could be, allows fully for this difference of standard. "Demosthenes was before all else an orator, and composed his speeches to be heard, not read. His eloquence is more artistic in expression than that of Cicero. Still, in our times, speeches are scarcely ever delivered in Greek, and in our countries Greek is learned not so much to acquire a power of self-expression in the language, as to draw stores of knowledge from Greek writers. It will be enough, therefore, for us to speak and write it somewhat as Aristotle seems to have done, unless a student is led by vainglory rather than by any practical purpose, to attain the fullest mastery of the language."⁵

This attitude was not that assumed by the leaders of the

5 *De Juventutis instituendae rationae*, c. 8.

Renaissance of Greek letters during the period between the fall of Constantinople and the outbreak of the Religious Revolt in the West. But by the end of the sixteenth century it was a settled principle of school practice. As a result, the study of Greek was begun at a point in the school course always markedly later than in the case of Latin. Sturm bears testimony to this postponement, though he advocates a different method. "An effort should be made," he says, "to keep an even degree of progress in Greek and in Latin, and to join in our reading Cicero and Demosthenes, Homer and Virgil, taking them alternately in two class-hours."⁶ Even Sturm, however, did not provide for more than concurrent reading. The active exercises of the two languages, in his school as in all European schools of the period, were far more elementary in the case of Latin than in that of Greek. Reading in Greek might reach the same standard as in Latin, in the highest classes of such schools as Sturm planned. But both the Greek and the Latin which would be so read, were to enrich not Greek and Latin style alike, but the latter alone. The subordinate role played by Greek in classical education naturally came to affect the knowledge of it by even professional teachers. Testimony on this decline accumulates in writings on education about the middle of the seventeenth century. Schoppe provides a very moderate Greek curriculum, and assures his readers that it will get anyone who goes through it the reputation of eminent scholarship.⁷ Pastorius speaks even more

⁶ *De litterarum ludis*, c. 22. Year VI.

⁷ *Consultationes*, 2. Ch. 15.

clearly. "Greek is now in decline in many schools. . . . At least those who are to be teachers in their turn should endeavour to know it well. Scholars who are intended to take part in public affairs, should be able to read Greek without hesitating and blundering. They should master, as a minimum, the vocabulary that is common to Greek and Latin, and those Greek terms that are akin to Latin. This will not take much time, and is necessary for the proper use of what Latin they acquire."⁸

The progressive lowering of the standard of Greek studies was especially felt in Italy. Lazarini, writing at Padua in 1711, deplored the fact that though the process of teaching the language was still gone through in schools, the level attained did not rise much above elementary accidence and syntax. Like Maresius,⁹ he makes special mention of the excessive use of Greek words in Latin publications, and compares it to *opus vermiculatum*, or *tessellatum*, for which Italians were so well known in the art of the time. The Jesuit Colleges shared in the policy which made Greek subordinate to Latin throughout the course, though, as Sturm hoped for, they usually succeeded in keeping the reading done in the two languages on the same level of attainment in the upper classes. While the University of Paris allowed the study of Greek to almost completely lapse—the senior students of the Collège d'Harcourt were as a rule dispensed from Greek composition of any kind—such Jesuit teachers as Gretser and Mignot endeavoured to provide text-books of better

⁸ Op. cit., c. 7.

⁹ Epistolae ad Valesios, 6.

quality than the 'Clenardus' and 'Vergara' which were in almost exclusive use in the sixteenth century. They were all superseded by the work of a southern French Jesuit, Gras, published in 1669. Following the insistent demands of educational writers, Gras reduced the contents of his Grammar to the absolute minimum: the book thus became more practical and useful than any other in vogue in France, and was soon translated into French. As in the similar momentous change in the vehicular language for instruction in Latin Grammar, the vernacular as a medium for teaching Greek accidence and syntax marked clearly the "coming into their own" of the modern languages of Europe. The tendency to this alteration coincided with the close of the seventeenth century.

The mutual relations of Greek and Latin in the school-practice of the Post-Renaissance period was determined by the fact that one of the two was required, by the practical conditions of all learning at the time, to be held in full mastery, alike through reading, writing, and speaking. Greek was as a rule not spoken, even by way of academic exercise. It was read almost as extensively as Latin in the advanced classes; but while in Latin the study of authors was directed mainly to the acquirement of a good personal style in Latin prose, all Greek writing appears to have been subordinated to reading, and that in turn to Latin writing as the "concentration-core" of all Post-Renaissance education. The effort to attain perfection was therefore made particularly for one determined object, and with that sole purpose. Latin was to be enriched by the tributary resources of Greek, and was to

be itself cultivated as the *dominatrix lingua* in all educational work, and for all the channels of self-expression it could afford. It was not studied so much for any intrinsic merits as a discipline, but rather because it was the master-key to the amassed knowledge of the world. That it was not an end in itself was made quite clear by Vives. "Languages are the lines of approach to all liberal arts, which are conveyed by their means. But they are only lines of approach, and not the arts themselves: they are the entrances, not the houses."¹⁰ And again: "Latin is as it were the treasure-store of all erudition."¹¹

The marked distinction thus made in the educational practice of the Post-Renaissance period, between Greek and Latin, may perhaps suggest a line of solution for the pressing problems arising from the conflict of languages in the school curricula of the present day. As things stand now, examination systems seem to rigidly require that all languages prepared and presented should be studied on the same intensive lines. In all, the power to read is required: in all, likewise, the power to write in the language itself. This leads to the study of the grammar of each tongue on the special scale of knowledge required when composition-work in it is undertaken. To all this is added, in the case of any modern language, some power of oral expression on the lines of direct method teaching. The secondary student in the three centuries after the Renaissance was required to know one language thoroughly, and a second on a standard inferior not only

10 *De causis corruptarum artium*, Bk. I., p. 335 ad fin. (Ed. 1555).

11. Epistle to Charles V. Works, Tome I., p. 12.

in degree, but in kind. His successor to-day is expected to read and write two ancient languages, and to read, write, and speak probably two modern ones. The charge against bilingual systems of education, that they lead to an imperfect grasp of two languages, in place of a sure mastery of one, applies here with vastly greater force.

Differential use of these three or four media for knowledge and self-expression, if planned on the lines of treatment provided for Latin and Greek before the Revolution, would prevent this wastage of intellectual effort and incompleteness of total result. Examination systems, if made to be the servants, not the controlling power, in an educational system, could without difficulty be made to assist in the much-needed concentration of studies and limitation of their various purposes. Besides the vernacular, not more than one language should be used for full instruction in reading, writing, and speaking. If the course is distinctly classical, no language should be worked on that triple system, other than the vernacular: and account should be taken of the fact that much of the self-expression in writing, formerly sought through Latin, now devolves necessarily on the mother-tongue. If one classical language is taught largely by means of 'composition,' there is no reason for making anything beyond the most elementary 'composition' a part of the course in any foreign language that is placed on the school list. Conversely, if one foreign language is taught by reading, writing, and speaking, there is not much additional educational value obtained from work in other languages directed to any end beyond the acquisition of power to

read. How much the linguistic programme could be lightened, if most languages were taught with the latter object only, can hardly be realised by many teachers of languages to-day. This is so because they are rather independent teachers of independent languages, than co-operators in a single purpose, that of education. Education can not be given *in* languages; it should be given *through* them. When it is understood that the subjects of the modern curriculum are not entitled to co-ordinate rank, but are only subordinate instruments, and when this principle is fearlessly applied so as to bring unity into the multiplicity of the school programme, there will be some chance of educational progress in departments more vital than buildings, and taxes, and boards of control. Nowhere is this process of simplification and subordination more required than in the languages taught in schools. They need to be adjusted to one another, so as all to subserve effective training. The claim of one language or another to be the dominant force in the curriculum of a school is one that should often be dealt with on grounds not intrinsic to the merits of that language in itself. No language can have claims so strong in the abstract as always to secure for it equality in the concrete. Educational opinion after the Renaissance would doubtless have been ready to assert that in power and flexibility of expression, in value of content, and in artistic form, Greek, even as then known, was superior to Latin. But the educators of the time, in all lands alike, were unanimous in making Greek the handmaid of Latin as a school subject. There was an all-sufficient justification

for this course, derived from the practical conditions of life and thought in Europe of their day. The question of adjustment calls for settlement on cognate lines to-day, if education is not to be entirely replaced by instruction.

CHAPTER XIV.

Classics and the Vernacular.

THE coming of the vernacular language into an assured position in the secondary studies of a country is a question all the more interesting because it is not yet purely historical. The very principle itself is not yet everywhere admitted; even in the countries where it is not assailed directly, there are sharp controversies as to the status of such study, the exact method to be used, the amount of profit to be looked for, the relation of the vernacular to other subjects of study. On the historical side it has often been assumed that from the very beginning there has been a state of conflict between classical studies and the cultivation of the vernacular languages. This impression would appear to be to a large extent the result of current controversies, reflected back over the previous centuries. No doubt then, as now, hard things were said of each group of studies by the extreme supporters of the other. The evidence which will be adduced in the course of this chapter would appear to prove that authorised exponents of the claims and methods of classical studies quite realised the use of and the position due to the vernacular. It must always be remembered that in the sixteenth century, and far into the seventeenth, the spoken be done through the medium of the common scholastic

languages of Europe had not well begun to come into their own. The commonwealth of scholarship and study in Western Europe was as yet undivided by the use of varying media of communication. Books on all subjects of study circulated between various European States with a freedom which was, relatively and absolutely, much greater than it is now. The issues of an approved work of the manual of text-book type spread into the schools of various States, and the books themselves were frequently reprinted in various centres. The language in universal use was Latin, purified yet in many ways modernised by the influence of the Renaissance movement. A book of note or worth in its department was, if written in Latin, assured of esteem, and perhaps also of a market, far beyond the country in which it was produced. The vernacular tongue, as a vehicle of literary or scholastic expression, was as yet hardly in use. Schools then, as now, had to look to what was actually demanded by the world around them, and could hardly give much recognition to the aspirations of even enlightened writers. It is therefore not to be always expected that broad views on the use of a vernacular language would be able to secure realisation in school-programmes. Such views would pre-suppose a degree of use for the vernacular in the professional life of Europe which was then far from being realised. It began for France in the later part of the reign of Louis XIV. For Germany it came nearly a century later. In such a situation it was only to be expected that in secondary schools practically all the work done, whether in the principal or in the subsidiary departments of work, should

language of Europe. Any other policy would have made the school not a preparation for life, but a mere aspiration after a vaguely-conceived ideal. In educational practice, if anywhere, it is certain that the writer who is a hundred years ahead of his time is as much 'out of date' as one who is a hundred years behind it.

The fact that the vernacular languages had not in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries been systematically organised for educational purposes, considerably influenced the writers on school-practice at that period. The Irish *Janua Linguarum* was a method for the acquirement of all languages: but its inventor, in his introductory treatise, distinguishes the 'scholastic' from the 'common' languages by this very criterion. The former are taught 'methodically,' and involve 'scientific grasp of grammatical rules'; the latter could be acquired in an 'irregular way,' by means of reading and conversation.¹ Writing some twenty years later than Bathe, Gabriel Naudaeus takes the same view: "As regards the study of languages, I hold it is two-fold. One type of such work is for everyday life (*civilis*), in French, German, Spanish, or any of the other tongues used by the chief European peoples. It is of no small advantage, and can be conveniently acquired outside schools. The other type is that of a vehicle for learning (*epistemonicum*); it has regard to all languages which increase our knowledge. Latin, as I have said, and Greek, are to be specially provided for in this respect."²

1 Introduction to *Janua Linguarum*, 1611: cc. 2, 6

2 *Syntagma de studio liberali*, c. 11.

A position more favourable to modern languages than is here indicated, was taken by one of the foremost Latinists of the time, Gerard John Vossius. Distinguishing in the same way between the *eruditae disciplinae*, the classical languages, and the European vernaculars, he explains, as to the latter, that they are "termed vulgar because a fair knowledge of them is often possessed by untrained minds, devoid of all scientific knowledge." He declines to admit that the description is rightly applied. "I hold that they occupy an intermediate position (*medii sunt generis*). But I think it makes little practical difference whether education in them is classed with the erudite or with the common subjects of knowledge, provided we acknowledge that their use is of the highest value even to men of learning. They are of moment not only for public and private life and intercourse, but also for the understanding of important issues, scarcely dealt with save in those languages styled vulgar. Further, I think there is utility in the study of elegance and purity of speech even in a vernacular language, such as Flemish here in the Netherlands. It is a language possessing its own graces of style, quite as much as other tongues do theirs. Knowledge of them may not bring much repute, but it would not be meritorious to be ignorant of them. Besides, ordinary people often disregard the pure usage of our vernacular; men of learning do so likewise, when contrary to the native genius of Flemish, they make it conform to the idiomatic usage of Latin (*ad Latinum eam morem accommodant*). In this they resemble the Walloons of our country, when they try to speak Flemish,

and the uneducated Flemings who try to speak Latin.”³

As is well known to students of Teutonic and Romance philology, this ‘corruption’ of modern European languages, by the infiltration of Renaissance Latin, affected vocabulary, spelling, sentence structure, and phraseology alike. Even great writers of English, such as Milton and Jeremy Taylor, sinned deeply in this respect; there is no need to point out the far deeper and more lasting effects this tendency has had on German. In many ways, however, the influence of classical scholarship on the literary use of the vernacular was a great factor in raising the latter to an adequate standard as an instrument of literary culture. The writers and orators of France and England, from Bossuet and Clarendon to Chateaubriand and Burke, would suffice as evidence of this enrichment of spoken languages from classical sources of inspiration and illustration. This improvement in the position of modern languages was noted by Crenius at the close of the seventeenth century, in an interesting note to his collection of educational treatises. After pointing out that the forward movement in this type of schoolwork was well under weigh in England and even in Holland, while it had made wonderful conquests in France, he calls for a great effort to secure a similar advance in German. “Our German tongue, in general elegance of diction, does not yield the palm to other languages. But we ourselves reckon it a language of the lowest type (*in postremissimis*). Our motherland of Germany has long suffered thus. One might call our language, as now treated, the common

³ De Studiorum ratione opuscula, c. 2.

receptacle for the corrupt influences of all other contemporary languages. From Latin, from French, from even Spain and Italy, we borrow what we could express with more distinction in our native idiom. Yet it is far more unbecoming to be unskilled in one's own than in a foreign tongue."⁴ Crenius proceeds to cite the pugnacious reformer of studies in the sixteenth century, Ramus the logician, as to the duty of cultivating purity of expression in our language just as carefully as in Greek and Latin.

This duty was also realised and urged by a writer whose influence on literary work in schools was far greater than that of Ramus could ever hope to be. The organisation of studies at Strassburg in the days of religious revolt, under the direction of John Sturm, has as a rule been written of as exclusively and even unduly classical in content. "The only need recognised by Sturm was need of the classical languages," writes R. H. Quick: "thus he and his admirers led the unlucky schoolboy straight into that slough of despond—verbalism"⁵; and the view here expressed substantially represents that usually taken of the Strassburg educator by English writers. Yet Sturm, at a date when his educational career was yet far from its close, has placed on record a view diametrically opposed to that commonly attributed to him. In 1573 he wrote a prefatory letter to Oelinger's *Grammar of the True German Tongue, for the use of French Youth Especially*, a work published at Strassburg in 1574. The letter is "On the Knowledge of and Practice in Languages of our

4 *Consilia et Methodi*. Rotterdam, 1692.

5 *Educational Reformers*. Ed. 1898 p. 3f.

own day," and one paragraph will suffice to show the sound and progressive views of the foremost worker in German lands for classical studies: "I do not commend the advice offered by those who hold that rules of composition should have place only in Latin and in Greek, and not in the other languages, those of our own times, both that we speak ourselves and those of other peoples. . . . Therefore I state my opinion that these languages should be learned and used for training, not only by way of careful study, but as a systematic art."⁶

That the view of the study of one's native language, so clearly expressed by Sturm, did not adequately prevail in schools was not the fault of writers on education. Sturm's view, as was clear even from its wording, showed rather what was to be desired and worked for, than what was actually realised. Something in the desired direction was secured in France by the oratorian schools, by the educators who gathered round Pascal, and at the close of the seventeenth century in not a few of the Jesuit Colleges. The illustration of grammatical and rhetorical precepts from Boileau, which we know to have taken place at one Jesuit College—that of Avignon—at this time, is an apt example of the application of the rule set by Sturm.⁷ The schools of nobles, in Teutonic and Romanic lands, all plainly leaned more to the vernacular as a basis of secondary instruction than did the schools frequented by the professional classes. The change to the vernacular from Latin made itself felt in another very significant way

⁶ Translation from the copy of Oelinger's work in Marsh's Library, Dublin.

⁷ Chossat: *Les Jesuites à Avignon* (1896), p. 321.

at the period about 1700. The school theatre is a most useful indicator of the wishes of parents as distinct from the teachers. The public performance of plays was an important event in the school year; it was the occasion when the larger public purpose of school-work was best seen and tested. The change to the modern language was called for at or very soon after the opening of the eighteenth century; and in the special circumstances it was very soon complied with.

Among professional scholars and educators Sturm was by no means alone in urging the systematic study of the vernacular. It is true that of the value of one's own language as an educational instrument, Vives, the foremost of his contemporaries, had apparently no very high estimate. He saw no need for its formal study in schools: "There is no need to develop a method and to lay down rules in the case of a language which lives on the lips of men: it can be more easily and more thoroughly acquired from the people who speak it."⁸ This statement, however, is consistent with the view that the way indicated for acquiring a modern language would also be a vernacular to be studied in the methodic way used for Latin: Like those who had visions of a Latin-speaking settlement (as Montaigne and la Condamine among many others) Vives may have wished Latin to be learned even as the vernacular is. A hundred years after Sturm formulated his thesis, Johann Scheffer, Professor at Upsala, pointed out the importance of accurate knowledge of living languages, and gave us some useful information on

relative values at the close of the epoch under consideration. The leading languages of his time he defined to be German, French, Italian, and English. French he declared to be the most needful after German. Italian is temporarily in favour in place of French: Finnish is quite necessary for a Swedish noble. The study of one's own language should be as carefully provided for as that of any other: the contrary of this is the more usual, but hardly worthy of a nobleman. It is a public loss that so undesirable a practice should prevail.⁹ Scheffer, who had for years been a notable teacher in Strassburg, and was a student under J. H. Boekler, knew the Teutonic school-practice well, his testimony is of much importance in showing that academic opinion at Strassburg had not changed in the hundred years after Sturm wrote.

Misconceptions have also arisen in the writing of the history of education, as to the place of the vernacular in the lower classes of secondary schools, as a means of introducing the study of Latin. A good deal of sympathy has been expended on the unhappy learners, supposed to have been compelled to learn an unknown tongue through an unknown medium. Even if this were the case, it would be nothing more than the literal application of the 'direct' method of our own day: and it would have the justification that Latin was not a dead language then as now. It was really meant to be a spoken language in both cultural and 'practical' life. Yet the sixteenth and seventeenth century educators are condemned for the use of the 'direct' method, which elicits nothing but a chorus of

⁹ *Johannis Schefferi Argentoratensis de Generosi Nobilisque Informatione Litteraria Dissertatio.*

praise from educational writers of to-day.¹⁰ The condemnation is, however, based on a hasty interpretation of school-practice. The usual school-books were, no doubt, written entirely in the Latin which they were to teach, just as many modern language primers are now. This never meant that they were to be taught in Latin only: and it is notable that text-books represent the totality of class-usage to writers on education from America particularly, where the text-book is said often to displace the teacher from his true position, putting him on the footing of a mere interpreter. There are many witnesses to prove that in the Post-Renaissance epoch Latin was not begun on strictly 'direct' lines. Under the Jesuit system the speaking of Latin in class-hours was not to be rigorously required till the third class was reached: in the two lower, a good deal of the work was to be done in the vernacular.¹¹ Seventy years before the *Ratio Studiorum* came into force, Vives laid down the same rule. "At first children are to speak the language of their homes (*quae illis domi est nata*). If they commit any faults of usage in it, the teacher will correct them. Then they will gradually mingle with their mother-tongue the Latin which the teacher will have supplied them with, or which they may have read for themselves. "Out of school the vernacular alone may well be used, to avoid depravation of idiomatic structure. Latin speaking in any degree is not to be required for a year after instruction in Latin has

¹⁰ An exception is to be found in Fr. Baumann (*Sprachpsychologie und Sprachunterricht*: Halle, 1905). But the writer admits that on the other side are ranged some 800 laudatory treatises issued since 1875, among which the writings of Eggert, Sallwark, and Ganzmann stand out conspicuously.

¹¹ *Rat. Stud., Regulae Communes*, 18.

begun.”¹² Express testimony as to school usage on this point is furnished for the period about 1650 by Pastor, historiographer of Poland, a strong supporter of the methods of Comenius.¹³ “I admit,” he writes, “that beginners find difficulty in understanding those rules, because they are set forth for them in Latin, the very language they are endeavouring to learn. But what is true in all other subjects of study, holds good in Grammar too: any difficulty that does not exist can be overcome by (1) skilful explanation on the part of a teacher, (2) frequently subjoining a rendering into the vernacular, (3) constant citation of instances, (4) and deftness in connecting these instances with the appropriate rule. Further, boys as a rule are not promoted to the study of Latin grammar now, until they have attained to some degree of familiarity with Latin, through a brief preparatory course given almost entirely in the vernacular, and through hearing Latin spoken every day. This should always be a pre-required condition.” Scheffer also points out that power to express oneself becomingly and effectively in the vernacular should be acquired by practice (*discipulus adsuefiat*) in the vernacular first, and later on in Latin. Of the value of so placing the vernacular first, he cites Italy as an example. “The scholars of the Renaissance set immense store by the use of Latin in their own time: but there are very few now in Italy who now (1650—1700) prefer ordinarily to express themselves in Latin rather than in Italian.”¹⁴

¹² De Tradendis Disciplinis. Bk. III.

¹³ J. Pastorii, Prof. Dantisci, Historiogr. Poloniae, de Juventutis instituendae ratione Diatribe. Ed. of Rotterdam (1692), c. 3.

¹⁴ Op. cit., c. 26.

Instruction in Latin was therefore begun not on the 'direct' method, which excludes all use of the vernacular, but on quite different lines, involving its employment as a predominant vehicle of instruction. Was it allowed any part in the advanced class-work on Latin? The aim of most school-programmes of the period was certainly to make Latin both the end and the means of instruction in the upper classes: just as the French or German class-room with us becomes, for direct method of teaching, 'a corner of France or Germany,' so the school of humane learning in the Post-Renaissance period aimed at being, and indeed was often called, '*pars Latii*.' But like most ideals, this admitted of considerable modifications in practice. Both in giving the substance of the author's views during the *praelectio*, and in the preparation of material for composition work, considerable use could be and was made of the vernacular. Ascham, as is well known, advised the use of double translation: it is the central point in his 'Ready way to the Latin Tong' that the Latin writer should first be rendered into written English, and then, after an interval, this English text should be re-translated into Latin. Thirty years before Ascham wrote, a far greater Latinist, Vives, recommended translation in the reverse of Ascham's order. "When they have learned syntax, they will render passages in the vernacular (*vulgares orationes*) into Latin, and these Latin versions (*has vicissim*) into the vernacular. But let the pieces be very short."¹⁵ That Vives' composition included such translations, is also made clear by a passage in his letter

15 de Tradendis Disciplinis III., p. 469 ad fin.

on the education of Princess Mary of England: "Here she will begin to translate short passages from English into Latin (*oratiunculas ex Anglico in Latinum vertere*). Let them be easy at first, and later be made gradually more difficult. They should extend over all types of subjects and include all kinds of phraseology: some should be on serious and sacred subjects, some on jocose and witty ones."¹⁶ A hundred years later, G. J. Vossius includes under 'exercitatio styli' both the harder types of imitation of classical writers, and also the easier plan of double translation. The latter is prescribed in the very form which Ascham advised: but Vossius takes occasion to require that the teacher should carefully revise the style of the English (*modo bene suit expressa, de quo doctor prius iudicium faciet*) before allowing the subsequent Latin retranslation to be made. The whole plan has, he remarks, the merit of making Cicero the real teacher unto proficiency.¹⁷ The plan of studies for Jesuit Colleges (1599) also makes provision for careful written translations and re-translations as part of the subsidiary class-exercises.

In all these forms of educational practice it will be seen that the vernacular is used in close connection with the Latin text-books in use at the time. The practice of rendering independent passages of the vernacular into Latin scarcely seems to have existed at all, either on the Continent or in England. Writing at the very close of the period under consideration, Morhof condemns any such

¹⁶ *De studii puerilis ratione epistolicae* II. *dissertationes*. II. c. 10 (1523).

¹⁷ *De studiorum ratione opuscula*, c. 9.

exercise in words that show it was at most only beginning to come into use.¹⁸ He was professor at Kiel, and in his "great work," while showing himself "profoundly learned,"¹⁹ he also displayed a full and wide knowledge of the problems connected with secondary teaching. "No theme should ever be given, except what is built up from a letter of Cicero, or a scene in Terence, by direct imitation," is his practical conclusion.

Yet this form of exercise had, in the nineteenth century, obtained an exclusive position as the best method for developing, and the best of all means of testing, mastery of Latin and Greek. The word 'composition' had come to be associated with it alone, and so had come to have a quite different meaning, when applied to the classical languages, from that assigned to it in reference to the mother-tongue. When modern languages came to have some place in programmes of secondary instruction, the 'classical' type of 'composition' was imposed on them as an appropriate method. This limitation was powerfully aided by the obvious examination-use of this exercise: the average examiner found it easier to set and appraise, than practically any other form of active work would be. Except in the vernacular, therefore, 'composition' came to mean 'translation into the language that is being

¹⁸ His reference to the subject is thus expressed: *Versionem Thematicæ Germanicæ in Latinam ego pro lubitu non instituendam suaserim. Nos probò illos, qui Historias quascunque vertendas proponunt: inter quos est qui universalem aliquam historiam, per certas pericopas distinctam, phrasibus in margine adjectis, huic fini publicavit*" (*Polyhistor Litterarius*, II., 465). Clearly this was a first instance of "Passages for Translation into Latin, with hints and suggestions." The *Polyhistor* was finished in 1638.

¹⁹ Sandys: *History of Classical Scholarship*, 1908. Vol. II., pp. 365-6 and 370.

learned.' For classics and for modern languages alike, it came to be accepted as the supreme test of scholarly taste and of good teaching. There is no doubt that it evoked many fine qualities in the case of students who had a real gift for the nicer points of what is now called 'scholarship.' To render the full force of a given English sentence, the full balance of a given period, with all its delicate shades of meaning and connection, is a highly valuable exercise. It gives admirable practice in seizing the full content of a passage in the vernacular, and in finding complete expression for it in another language. But the totality of the thought thus transfused from one language-mould to another is the attribute not of the translator but of the writer of the original passage. The exercise is all the more faithfully done, the rendering is the more brilliantly perfect, when the whole of another's thought has been mentally grasped and given expression to, without the slightest addition of independent thought on part of the worker. The exercise is thus mainly a passive one, not an example of self-activity. The learner of say twelve years of age in the Post Renaissance period, engaged in the personal expression in Latin of a few connected ideas given in brief outline in a school exercise, had really undertaken a task involving far more personal effort, far more real self-activity, than many a successful candidate for high distinction in classics at English universities within the past hundred years was ever called to do in classical 'composition.' This modern type of 'composition' would appear to be a conditioning of classics, in their most important educational form, by alien

thought set in an alien mould. Except as a subsidiary exercise and as a temporary concession to beginners, it should have no place among educational instruments. This subordinate position was clearly assigned to translation in the language methods of Bathe and his numerous editors in German, English, Portuguese, and Italian. They sought self-activity and self-expression from the very start of the educational process. So did practically all educators of the Post-Renaissance period, even in the humble yet personal class-exercises of variation and amplification of phrases. The self-expression called for by true classical composition was the great formative element in the education given in the sixteenth century, and down to the Revolutionary period. When Kant and Maine de Biran repeatedly laid stress on personal and spontaneous activity as the principal co-efficient in human development, they were but giving philosophical expression, as did Fichte once in a notable passage,²⁰ to the idea which was implicit in the whole work of the educators of Europe for centuries before. When the reformers of modern language teaching in recent years rejected the perverted type of 'composition' which had been imposed in consequence of a sham 'classical tradition,' they were really, although perhaps unwillingly, reverting to the true classical method which sought self-expression in language-teaching, and used translation in to Latin merely as a concession to beginners. The setting forth of one's own thoughts in appropriate and well-chosen language, not the sedulous effort to give utterance to the exact views

20 Reden an die deutsche Nation. Works (Berlin, 1846). Vol. 7, p. 289.

of another, was what composition then meant. To adopt in classical teaching, the reform methods of composition work in modern languages, would therefore be no violation of tradition, but rather a reverting to the best lesson the past can give. The movement of hostility to classical 'composition' as now understood, on the ground that it calls for too much time and exertion as compared with the value of its results, would be in the main justified by the history of educational practice. *Antiquam exquirite matrem* would be a useful motto for the classical reformer of to-day at least in English-speaking countries. If the deflection from type which has occurred in classical teaching were followed by a reversion to type on lines to be indicated in the next chapter, it would be a reversion fruitful in good results not only for classical studies and their future, but for the vernacular languages as well. France, at least until recently, kept to the true tradition of classical composition, and applied its methods in the formation of style and literary taste in French as well. As a result French prose has until now been made a model for all other peoples in clarity of expression, in neat effectiveness of phrase. England, largely under the influence of the educational idiosyncrasies of Locke, abandoned true classical composition two hundred years ago. As a result there has been no guiding method in English composition. Her schools fail to teach it, her writers lack all unity, her literature, in the words of one of her ablest writers, critics, and statesmen, tends every year to become more and more 'amorphous in form and indeterminate in outline.'

CHAPTER XV.

School-Practice in the Seventeenth Century.

THE publication of educational sources during the past forty years has thrown a great deal of light on the organisation and curricula of various grades of European schools for the period between 1500 and 1800. The invaluable series of volumes styled '*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*' has afforded material for a new history of education in Central Europe, and various histories of famous schools and colleges have added to the stores of information available for this purpose. Other collections, such as the '*Scrittori Pedagogici Italiani*' of Gerini, have made readily available the views of writers on education, whether theorists or practitioners.

All these sources, however, fall short of intimate contact with the actual processes of work in the class-room. On the practice of teaching but little direct information is available. It is true that hints are often to be gathered from casual phrases in formal treatises on education, and that occasional reminiscences of teachers and scholars touch incidentally on what is the root of the matter for the educator, the conduct of a class in the details of daily work. It is only to be expected that these gleanings by the way afford no adequate presentation of a working day

in a school or in a class. What is needed is a careful report by an experienced and interested observer, who has taken the pains to survey accurately the procedure employed in the management of an individual class, and to describe its salient features. Something approaching such a report the writer is fortunate enough to be able to present here, as illustrating educational practice in the middle of the seventeenth century. The type of school reported on, taken in connection with the personality of the inspector, may be thought to give it a special interest. The document is a description of a Jesuit College by an English Puritan divine, and is dated 1645.

The text printed is a transcript from a manuscript volume in the British Museum, which was examined by the writer when searching for materials bearing on the connection between the history of the Salamanca *Janua Linguarum* and the group of students of education who worked with Hartlib and Comenius. As has been previously shown, they were in the habit of sending to each other, besides numerous letters on educational questions and methods, copies of pamphlets and school-plans which had appeared in England and in Germany. One of the most indefatigable of these correspondents was John Dury or Durie, so well known in connection with the religious and political issues in both these countries between 1620 and 1660. In the furtherance of his plans for a Protestant religious union he undertook numerous journeys through the Low Countries and the North German States, and he was particularly active during the period 1635–1645, when Sweden had intervened in the

Thirty Years' War, and Dury's friend Oxenstiern was next to Richelieu the most powerful statesman in Europe. With all his more public enterprises, questions bearing on education were unfailingly combined. It seems to have been on one of these journeys that he inspected the working of a class in a Jesuit College, and the result was the 'Description of a Transmarine Schoole' which occupies eight folios in one of the volumes of manuscript bearing specially on the doings of Hartlib, Hornius, and their circle.¹

In the earlier catalogue of the Sloane Manuscripts this "Description" is entered as "by W. Rand, 1645." The twenty folios preceding it are filled by a letter in the same handwriting as that of the "Description": the letter is signed by Rand, and was written at London, March 5, 1645. The later catalogue of the manuscripts adds that the corrections of the 'Description' are in the handwriting of John Dury: this is easily verified from some of Dury's holograph pieces bound in the same volume.²

The nature of the additions and corrections made by Dury make it fairly evident that he was the author of the 'Description,' and that Rand was a member of the Hartlib circle who had made a copy from Dury's notes, and submitted it to him for revision and additions. Two of the errors corrected by Dury are of words which destroy the sense of the clauses where they appear; Dury restores the original word, and makes it clear that Rand was acting as his copyist, working on a somewhat illegible body of

1 Sloane MSS., vol. 649, B.M., folios 74—81.

2 Ibid., folios 217, 271 sq.

notes. The insertion made on the subject of Latin Verse, and on the purpose of the exercises in composition, is of a different type, and seems to make a real addition to the pre-existing text, as well as a replacing of omitted words.

In the text printed here the spelling used by Dury has been preserved throughout.

It is noticeable that while Dury follows sedulously the famous advice of Bacon, "consule scholas Jesuitarum," he is careful not to give any indication of the location of the college he visited, or of the special character it had as conducted by a religious order. These sedulous suppressions are exactly parallel to the treatment which the *Janua Linguarum* underwent in the nine editions published in England up to 1645. All references to Ireland and to the Jesuit writers of the work, and all passages from which they could be in any way inferred, were silently omitted. The same policy was followed by the Puritans who reprinted, as pamphlets in their warfare against Charles I. and the Cavaliers, treatises written by Jesuit controversialists under Elizabeth.

That the school described was a Jesuit College, situated of course in some large Continental city, could be proved conclusively from the first two pages of the text. More than a hundred passages are to be found in the *Ratio Studiorum* which afford exact parallel for the facts and methods indicated by Dury. The titles used, the timetable, the distribution of work, the exact details of the school prizes in each class, the special organisation of class-officers, the method of public prayer in school, the use of Latin speech in class-work, the repetition-work and

declamation, all are points that coincide perfectly with the uniform Jesuit system. Under no other organisation of that day would the Regents or Masters 'change their classes sometimes every yeare, sometimes every two yeares, seldome staying longer, and remoove themselves into higher, *either in the same or other townes, where they are sent.*' The precise town in which was located the college described by Dury, it is not possible to indicate: it might be anywhere from Ingolstadt to Brussels. Only in a large city such as Brussels could he have seen seven classes of humanities: only a city where there was also an episcopal See, would be likely to have the additional classes of philosophy, and casuistry, or theology. An examination of the yet unpublished annual catalogues of the Jesuit provinces in Germanic lands might limit the possible choices to half-a-dozen cities: any closer definition would require, besides a knowledge of the territories at any time occupied by the Swedes and their allies, a detailed consideration of Dury's multiplex itineraries. The result, from the educational point of view, would be of very slight value as an addition to the living picture of school practice which Dury has given us.

While the account Dury gives us coincides at every point with the prescriptions contained in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, it could never have been written from that code of rules. The whole setting of the two documents is utterly different, and the language of Dury is obviously that of an acute and inquisitive observer of actual school practice. To opportunities for such observation he, and any other visitor, was entitled by the common law of the

Jesuit colleges. In every class-room a place at the reere of the regularly-arranged school benches was provided where any parent, or city official, or respectable visitor in the town could at any time during the school day watch the teaching given. All these classes were emphatically public classes, and any well-conducted member of the public was entitled to attend and see for himself what work was done in school, and how it was done. The impression made on Dury was decidedly a favourable one. Evidently he was specially interested, as were his correspondents, Hartlib and Comenius, in the provision made for enforcing the speaking of Latin. From the days of Trotzendorf down to those of Rollin, Latin was the one language sanctioned within secondary schools in Europe: each nation had its own customs for enforcing the observance of this universal school law, and it is agreeable to find that the method of *Do tibi signum* had consequences of such little severity that their application was "but a meere Recreation and sport to the Schoole." The use of the 'clap,' or palmer, or ferula in this connection was then very common in all European school systems, and was resorted to by Sir Richard Hawkins on board his ship 'off the Guinea Coast': he ordained that the emblem should pass from hand to hand among his crew, as a penalty for profane language, and he used to punish the last of them 'taken with an oath.'

The description of the work done in and for the class brings out the importance of true Latin composition as the main object of studies, and the main exercise by which these studies were to be made personal to each student.

The reading which was made to subserve this central feature of the school programme was preceded by proper 'explication' of the text by the Regent. While Cicero was dominant both as a model for style and as a source for reading, a good deal of time was given to Chronology and Geography. Disputation was practised on the subject matter dealt with in class; it doubtless went far to produce the 'ready men' of the time. Declamation was evidently a weekly class-exercise. It was not handed over to a specialised instructor, but was conducted in each class by the Regent himself, and seems to have been a means of encouraging extra private reading and writing.

The result of the whole process of training which Dury describes for us was not the acquisition of large quantities of fact-knowledge, but the developing, by personal exercises, of that knowledge which is power. The contrast between the methods and results of education then and now has been strikingly expressed by Dr. Mahaffy in words which might serve as an adequate justification for those who still wish to walk in the ancient ways. "A great change has come over us since the time when the business of the teacher was to expound a subject and not a book, and that of the student was to assimilate his lesson so that he could reproduce it in a Latin essay, and defend his views in public disputation. If there was less to be known then than now, there was on the other hand an insistence on that knowledge being ready for use, and defensible by argument. As a mental training our present university courses have nothing of the same value, and so far we have distinctly deteriorated.'

In the following transcript from the Sloane MSS., the alterations and additions made by Dury, in the copy as preserved, are given in italics.

A DESCRIPTION OF A TRANSMARINE SCHOOLE.

In one Colledge are learned the very rudiments of the Latine tongue, and the whole course of Philosophy, with that part of practicall Divinity which concernes Cases of Conscience, *commonly* there called Casuistry.

This Colledge is divided into ten Classes, all governed by one Prefect, but managed by as many schoolemasters (which they call Regents). All the schollars of the same Classis reade the same bookes, make the same exercise, so that they are all taught with the same ease to the Regent, as one alone. And these have no other particular employments (that I ever could heare of) than to study the proficuous *instruction* (institution, Rand) of their Classis.

These Regents change their classes sometimes every yeare, sometimes every two yeares, seldome staying longer, and remoove themselves into higher, either in the same or in other townes, where they are sent.

Besides these Regents, there belongs to all the Classes one Corrector, who by appointment of the Regents correcteth delinquents, and is sent for from his classis, where hee himself studieth as a scholler, to the other classes, as occasion requires. The schollers of the seven lower classes (wherein is studied humanity) remaine in the schoole foure houres per diem, viz.: 2 in the forenoone, and 2 in the afternoone, comming in the summer at 9 of

the clock in the morning, and 3 in the afternoone, and in winter at 8 in the morning and 2 in the afternoone, when the respective Regents doe most constantly attend their employments. And if any extreame occasion requires their absence (which rarely happens), then the Prefect appointeth another to supply his roome.

The schollers are warned to schoole by a bell, which rings twice, viz.: once just half an houre before the precise time when every man is bound to appeare, and when the Regents entreth; and then again afterwards at the said very time. Betweene which ringings if any schollers shall come into the schoole, he is not bound to doe anything; but if hee speaketh, it must be in Latine. But if any doe speak the Vernacula Lingua, he that was last clapt with the ferula for the same fault (if hee heare him, as he endeavours to doe, least hee have the ferula again himselfe) cryeth out *Do tibi signum*. Whereupon hee that hath the signum, that is to say he that spake the Vernacula Lingua, goeth about to listen after others that doethe same, which when hee hath found, he delivers himselfe from the ferula by saying to the delinquent, *Do tibi signum*. And so hee only is clapt, upon whom the signum rests at the last ringing of the bell.

In the schoole no man learneth lesson or maketh exercise, but are to render the lessons and shew the exercise last enjoined them to make, and so hearken to the exposition of new lessons, to write new themes, or other things as the Regent dictates unto them.

Their annus scholaris is divided into two halfes, distinguished by as many vacations. The first halfe begin-

neth the 9th of October, ending at Easter; and then there is leave for about ten dayes time, for every schollar to dispose of as hee pleaseth. After Easter begins the other halfe yeare, continuing till about the middle of August, at which time the vacation beginns.

Somewhat before the ending of the yeare the Regents set out such as they think fit to ascend into a higher classis.

In the vacation the Regent appointed for the following yeare selecteth out such parts of their Authors usually read in the Colledge, as will suffice for the first halfe yeares study, and getteth them printeth in very good paper, in a large quarto, so as there be space enough left betweene every line to interscribe another, and great margents of all sides. All which treatises the schollars at their returne to schoole buy of the Printer in leaves, for about 12 or 14 pence. Some have all these treatises bound up in one book, and cleane paper with them; others keepe them all loose, and bring but a sheete of each Treatise at a time in their Gerifolium.

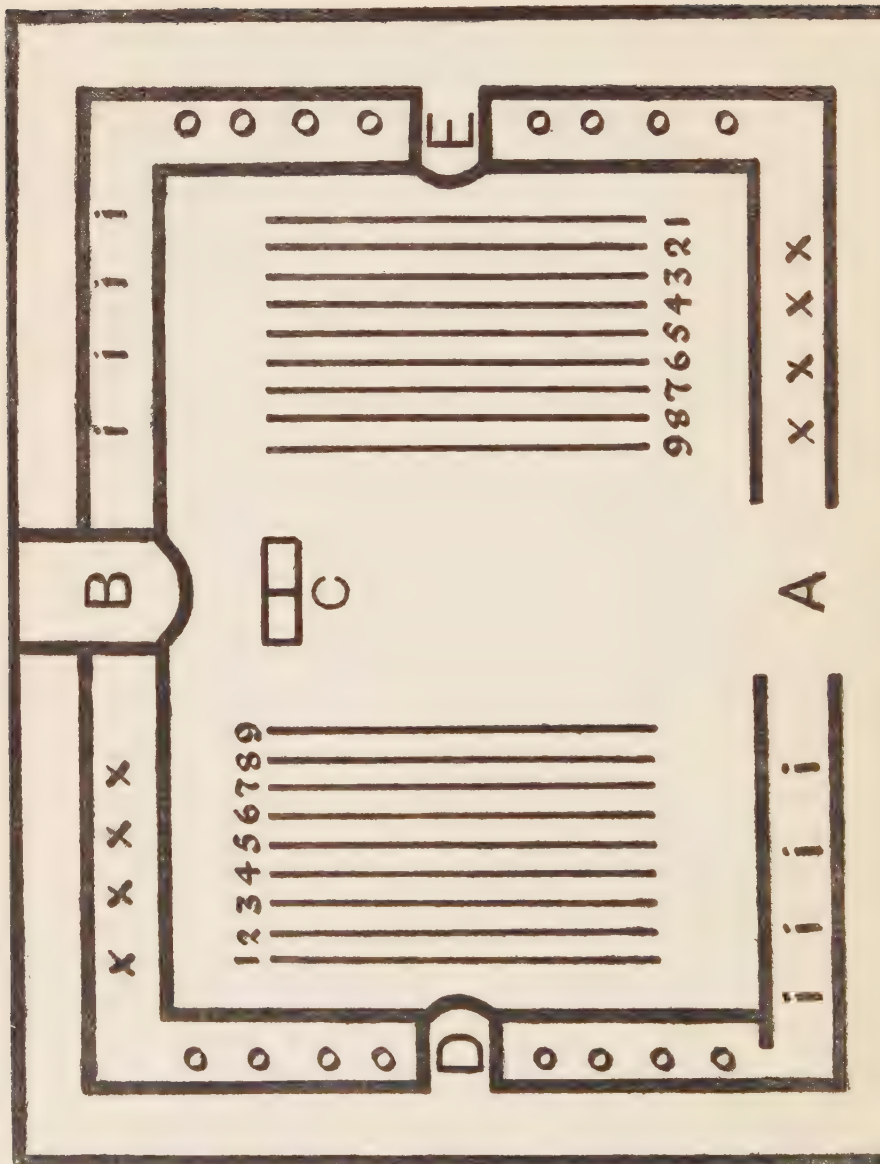
At the first day of their returne to Schoole, they compose for their places, and bring with them all books requisite for that purpose, which they also doe every moneth of the whole yeare, but in severall Faculties, as sometimes in Latine Prose, sometimes in Greeke Prose, *sometimes in Latine Verse*, so that everyone shall have his place according to his Deserts in every faculty. But such as will not compose must set in the last place, which many of the Lazier and lesse Ambitious sort accept to doe, rather than take the paines of composing.

The schoole itself is of an oblong square figure, commonly hung round with pictures or Maps, divided into two parts, viz.: into Orientall and Occidentall; and whatever places there are on the one side, there are as many and the same on the other. The Regents pulpit is betweene both, from which there is a vacant alley to the doore, according to this platforme.

At A is the Doore, B the Regent's pulpit: C the seats of the two Censors, E the Chaire of the Emperor of the West, D of the East: oooo the Senators on each hand of the Emperors, xxxx the Equites, whereof hee next the Senators is called Princeps Equitum, iiii the Comites, whereof hee next the Emperor is called Primus Comitum. The low benches marked with Arithmetically figures are called Decuriae, the chief whereof is called Decurio

The Schollars of each Classis are commonly so many that the Regents especially at the first hand of the yeare scarce knowing them, cannot themselves take due notice of them all, wherefore the Emperor takes notice of the Senators in respect of their absence, prating in the Schoole, et cetera, and taketh every one of their exercises, which having filed together hee send to the Censor, together with a bill of the absence, misdemeanours, default of bringing exercise of every one of his senators. The same doth the Princeps Equitum for the Equites, the primus Comitum for the Comites, and each Decurio for those of his Decuria. The Censor transcribeth all these bills, and having put all into one, giveth it to the Regent. The same doe the Censors and other Officers of the other side.

As soone as the Regent entreth the schoole, they all



PLAN OF CLASSROOM IN A JESUIT COLLEGE, AFTER A DRAWING
BY JOHN DURY. CIRCA 1645.

fall on their knees, and the Reader of the Classis (which is one of the Schollars) sayeth a short prayer that God would blesses the studies, and give them grace to employ the profit of them to his glory: which having done, the Regent either opening his pulpit or walking into the Alley, biddeth any whom hee most suspecteth of negligence to render his lesson: as suppose the first Decurio of the East. The said Decurio of the East, and also hee of the West both rise together: hee of the East sayeth the lesson, hee of the West correcteth him where he misseth, and then the Decurio of the West sayeth also, and is corrected in like manner by his fellow opposite of the East. The Regent spendeth neere halfe an houre in this business, which having done, hee giveth another lesson out of the same author, in the lower Classes construing the author into the vernacular tongue, which the schollars write betweene the lines left wide asunder for that purpose; and in the higher Classes the Greeke into Latine. They write also such glosses, comments, analyses, and other explications in their Margents as the Regent dictates, according to the capacity of his respective Classis.

All Classes, from the highest to the lowest of Humanity, render some piece or other of Cicero, but with different intentions: some his Epistles simply to *construe* (custome, Rand) and parse them, others to learne the running of the style, the phrases and other elegancies, others to learne by him the Art of Rhetorick, the way of making orations, framing and carrying on of Arguments, etc.

Having heard the lessons in the morning, and expounded a new one for the next morning, hee then

dictates a treatise of Rhetorick in the first (which is the highest) classis, and also a Treatise either of Chronology or of Geography, as a Parergon for about halfe an houre more, which done the Reader stands up and reades what hath been dictated, to the end that the rest may correct by him what they have omitted or written amisse.

This done, the Censor gives up the themes with the bill of accusations, as aforesaid, to the Regent. Whereupon he questions all the delinquents named in the bills, punishing them with one or more claps of the ferula, that cannot fairly excuse themselves. After this he peruseth the themes in generall, and biddeth whom he pleaseth to read his thema aloud before all the Schoole, either to his shame or honour.

Having spent some halfe an houre more hereupon, hee then asketh, *Quis habet Signum?* Then he that suffered last telleth to whom he gave it, and so successively untill it come to the very person on whom it last resteth, who commonly endeavoured to excuse himselfe by saying that hee was provoked to speak vernacularly by others. To conclude, hee that is found in fault receiveth the clap, and hath the signum resting with him, of which he must free himselfe as well as hee can.

This part over, which indeed is but a meere recreation and sport to the Schoole, the Regent giveth a new exercise. If it is the Classis of Rhetorick, he dictates the compendium or heads of a short oration, telling them how they shall make the exordium, how to propound the matter, how to proove or disprove it; from whence they should draw their arguments, either *ab honesto, utili, etc.*, and so

forwards. If hee give Verses to make, he gives 10 or 12 lines of Poeticall Prose, which they must turne into Verse: if Greeke prose, then hee dictates only Latine prose. In other Classes the exercises are to translate the vernacular into Latine, or vice-versa, or to reduce transposed words of verses into legitimate meeter and quantity.

After this he explicates some 12 or 14 verses of a Poet, which must be rendered at the first entrance into the Schoole in the Afternoone, (as the Prose was in the morning) in case it be a day whereon two lessons are to be said that afternoone. Else he reads cursorily some Author of Geography, Chronology, etc., to peece out the remainder of the forenoone, if any bee after the aforementioned business.

In some places there is appointed a series of authors to be constantly read, and exercises to bee done in each Classis; in others all is left to the discretion of the Prefect and Regents pro tempore.

On Saturday, repetition of morning lectures is to be made in the morning, with interrogations upon the Dictates in Rhetorick, and sometimes a kind of disputation thereon. And what remaineth of the forenoon is spent in hearing some scholler, whom the Regent shall call out to repeat some verses of Seneca, Terence, or any other Tragoedian or Comoedian, that hee best knoweth, without booke, with their true life, grace, and actions. After all this commonly one or others declaimes either prose or verse, or repeates an oration which he hath made against some other of Ciceroes, answering all his Arguments, and the like.

In the Saturday afternoone Repetition is made of the afternoone lectures of that weeke, and after that the Regents catechise some of the Schollars out of a Catechisme in Greeke and Latine. In the higher classes they answer in Greeke, in the lower in Latine, after which he expoundeth at large that part of the Catechisme, and concludes with saying some litanies, the ordinary short prayer, usually said as well at going out as coming into the schoole.

Every month there is acted a Tragedy of about an houres durance, of about 10 or 12 parts by those of the higher Classes, and the Actors come privately to be instructed therein by the Regent, to whose charge the business is committed.

If the Regent take notice of constant diligence in any Scholler, or if any make an extraordinary good exercise, hee is honoured with a paper picture, sealed with the Colledge-Seale and signed by the Prefect and Regent to attest the industry or will of the receiver. The surrendering of this picture will free him or any of his friends, to whom hee will give it, from the lash, whensoever they deserve it.

About the middle of sommer, there is a small time of feriation, *in* which there is provided and set up an Enigma, which whosoever expoundeth, receiveth a book fairely bound, of 20 or 30 pence price, signed and sealed as aforesaid of the picture, as an honorarium; and those two that come next the *true* (time, Rand) sense of the Table, receive handsome illustrated pictures of about 12 pence prices, which they call Accessits. The better is

called a proxime accessit, and the other a simple accessit.

About a month before this time, there are nine or ten of the best Schollars of every Classis, in severall faculties, exempt from all exercises, to make verse or prose upon what *subject* they please, which is to bee written *faire* in hafe sheetes of paper, adorned round about with printed antick work, and sett up round the quadrangle of the Colledge, there to remaine 3 dayes for all schollars of the same or other colledges to come and view it. Who if they finde either false Latin, Greeke, botches, false quantityes, etc., pricke a hole with a pinne on all the faults of that nature.

Somewhat after this time they compound for the Praemia, which are Bookes fairely bound, better or worse, greater or smaller, more or lesse in number, according to the degree of the Classes, *e.g.*, in the first classis there are 10 books of 30 or 40 pence price, viz.: two for the two best deservers in Latine prose, 2 for Latine verse, 2 for Greeke prose, 2 for Greeke verse, and 2 for the Catechisme, with as many Accessits, that is, 5 proxime Accessits and 5 more simple Accessits.

The Regent gives notice when any of these compositions are to be made, to the end that all men may bring such books as they may think necessary for the purpose, for these exercise are to be given and made in Schoole in the presence of the Regent, and to be delivered fairely written unto him before they stirre forth, without setting any name to it. When all these Exercises are made, and the Catechisme said by all the Competitors, the Regents diligently look over all the exercises, and note the number

of missings in the Catechisme, and thereupon doe privately determine who shall receive each praemium and accessit, but *differre* (before, Rand) to declare it till the end of the Great Tragedy, whereof the Regent of the first Classis is to bee Author. There are commonly 60 actors of the better ranke taken out of all Classes, and each of these besides the charge of clothes give 10 pence apiece for fitting the Theater, with ornaments for interludes, Musick, and hanging the Theater with pictures of the subject of the Tragedy, etc. To this Tragedy, which dures commonly 4 or 5 houres, all the Gentry of the Country resort, more especially the Parents of the Schollers and Actors in it.

At the end of the Tragedy all that deserved the Praemia are called up upon the Theater, and there sett in a chaire and crowned with a laurell wreath before the whole company present, where it is publicly declared that they for their diligence in the whole proceeding yeare, for their witt, and particularly for their last exercise, have most deservedly received that honour and reward.

Hitherto wee have spoken of the seven classes of Humanity. There are 3 other, viz.: one for Logick and Ethick, another for Metaphysick and Physick, and the third for Casuistry.

In these Classes there is no degrees of place observed, no Praemia nor Tragedies. They come but 3 houres in the day, 1½ houres in forenoone, and as much in the afternoone. The Casuists come only one hour per diem.

The Regents dictate for the first three-quarter houres treatises of the severall sciences, which doing apace the

Students use many abbreviations in their writing. The Regent expounds the dictations half an houre, and the $\frac{1}{4}$ remaining is allowed to every man for the mooving of objections and cleering doubts in the doctrine delivered. The Saturday forenoone they spend in *Repetition* (Repeatinge, Rand) by answering questions proposed by the Regents, and in disputing with one another.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

BIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLE ON
WILLIAM BATHE.

Published by Tanner, at Prague, 1694.

P. Guilielmus BATHEUS.

Natus est P. Guilielmus in Hybernia Dublini, anno 1566, parentibus illustrissimis, et multarum ditionum in Provincia Lagenia dominis; a quibus in omni virtute et pietate educatus, eamdem cum fide catholica constanter retinuit, cum demortuo patri in jura omnia, tanquam major natu, successit. Cum vero per id tempus Hyberniæ Pro-Rex ad certa negotia componenda virum perquireret idoneum, Legati titulo ad Elisabetham Angliæ Reginam mittendum, Guilielmum post longam deliberationem elegit, in juvenili ætate cana prudentia senibus aequalem: quod munus magna Reginæ gratia gessit, eo etiam nomine ipsi acceptissimus, quod omne genus musices instrumentorum scite et eleganter tractare nosset. Nihil tamen favores hi et blanditiæ Reginæ, deliciæve florentis Aulæ mentem Bathei de constantia in Religione, aut gradu virtutis moverunt, quin adeo robustior in utraque, et vanitatum mundi per-

tæsus, jam tunc decrevit totum se obsequio Dei addicere, et animo disciplinis omnibus exulto vitam cœlibem in statu ecclesiastico amplecti. Reducem in Hyberniam, primariæ familiæ affinem sibi, ditissimorum connubiorum delatione, fieri deposcebant, quod non solum potentem opibus et ditionibus, sed gratia etiam singulari apud Reginam et Vice-Regem florere viderent: sed ille propositi tenax, repente magna omnium admiratione, jura primogeniti in fratrem suum juniorem transtulit, et rerum omnium abdicato dominio Oxonium ad Philosophiam transiit, non minus literis quam pietati, et studio pœnitentiæ se totum sacraturus. Vitam igitur exorsus omnino sanctam et omnimodis asperitatibus arduam; tempus omne studiis vacuum dabat orationi; dignus qui validis impulsibus a Deo vocaretur ad statum religiosum; quem amplecti jam certus, perplexe duntaxat hærebat et anxius, quem magis deligeret: solitudinis siquidem amore trahebatur inde ad Carthusiam: rigoris inde et pœnarum ambitu ad Cappuccinos: desiderio autem et zelo juvandi proximos ad Societatem Jesu. Quibus curis et perplexitatibus aliquando multum fatigatus, obrepente fesso capiti somno, audiit diserte sibi inclamari ex Joann. cap. 10, verba illa: *ingredietur et egredietur, et pascua inveniet*: quorum vim et sententiam assequi non valens, cum ad orationem refugisset, sensit sibi interne dici, per ingressum et egressum intelligi vitam activam Societatis in proximorum salute operanda; in qua tamen non deest divinae contemplationis studium. Lætus itaque ex cognita Dei voluntate in Belgium trajecit, ac Societatem illico expetiit, receptusque in tyrocinium Tornaci anno 1596, ætatis 31, ea

primis statim mensibus adultæ virtutis et magisterii spiritus dedit specimina; ut etiamnum tyro, Instructori Novitiorum datus sit ad reliquos virtute imbuendos socius.

Biennio exacto ad Collegium Anglorum S. Omari translatus est, educandis magno numero ex ea gente juvenibus, in spem unice propagandæ in patria Fidei Catholicæ, præfectus: quibus solida virtute et scientia, quæ par esset securibus et patibulis Angliæ, imbuendis, dum non verbis magis quam exemplis insudat; nimio rigore et assiduitate valetudinem haud parum afflixit: mandato proinde Præpositi Generalis in Italiam evocatus, et Theologiæ arcana Paduæ prosequi jussus est. Cæpit hic, Sacerdotio initiatus, zelo animarum incredibili ardere, qui tota deinceps vita nunquam refrixit, ut neque de ulla alia re loqui posse videretur, neque quidpiam objici posset tam arduum et difficile, quod non perrumperet vel unius animæ causa. Noctu diuque paratus erat quocunque evocaretur, ipseque sollicitus perquirebat in plateis rudes, quos fidei et virtutum rudimentis informaret, pauperes et ægros quos sublevaret; assiduus in visitandis carceribus, nosodochiis, et vestigandis locis, in quibus auxilii seu spiritualis seu corporalis indigos latere suspicabatur. Atque hæc fuere veluti præludia graviorum, quæ ipsum manebant, laborum, et semina ingentium fructuum quibus Ecclesiam ditavit.

Cum enim per id tempus Pontifex destinasset Nuncium Apostolicum in Hyberniam, ad confirmandos incolas gravi bello ab Anglia hæretica pressos ob Fidem Catholicam, P. Ludovicum e Societate, virum excelsæ virtutis, doctrinæ et sanctitatis, comitem illi Præpositus Generalis adjunxit

P. Bathæum. Hunc ergo secutus in Hispaniam, unde certa legationi petenda erat a Rege instructio, quia repente pacis fœdera inter Hispanos et Anglos sancita sunt: legationis negotio omni discusso, constanter deinceps hæsit in Hispania. Et vero Salamanticæ theatrum illi Deus paravit gloriosum, ad triumphandas inferni potestates, et plurimas ex ejus faucibus animas eripiendas, inque libertatem filiorum asserendas. Ut enim nihil dicam de conatibus, quos eosdem atque Paduæ ad salutem proximorum magno successu adhibuit, contulit illi Deus singulare donum et gratiam ad tradenda ingenti fructu exercitia, ita singularem et insuetam, ut nemo hæc illo directore obiret, quin desideratam animi quietem referret: hinc nunquam domus nostra vacabat hospitibus ex omni hominum genere et statu exerceri ab illo cupientibus. Maxima inde secuta est morum in nobilitate et civibus mutatio, et in juventute academica, quæ in celeberrima illa Universitate veluti flos colligitur ex tota Hispania, tantus fervor, ut monasteria omnia tyronibus implerentur; affluerentque in dies illustrissimi adolescentes, qui in sacra illa ascensi omni efficacia negotium salutis tractare expeterent. Porro emolumentum ab inde provenientis magnitudinem vel inde collige, quod præter consuetam morum in omnibus emendationem, solæ in hominem alium, cum insolito eventu, et admirandis circumstantiis mutationes, fuere supra trecentas.

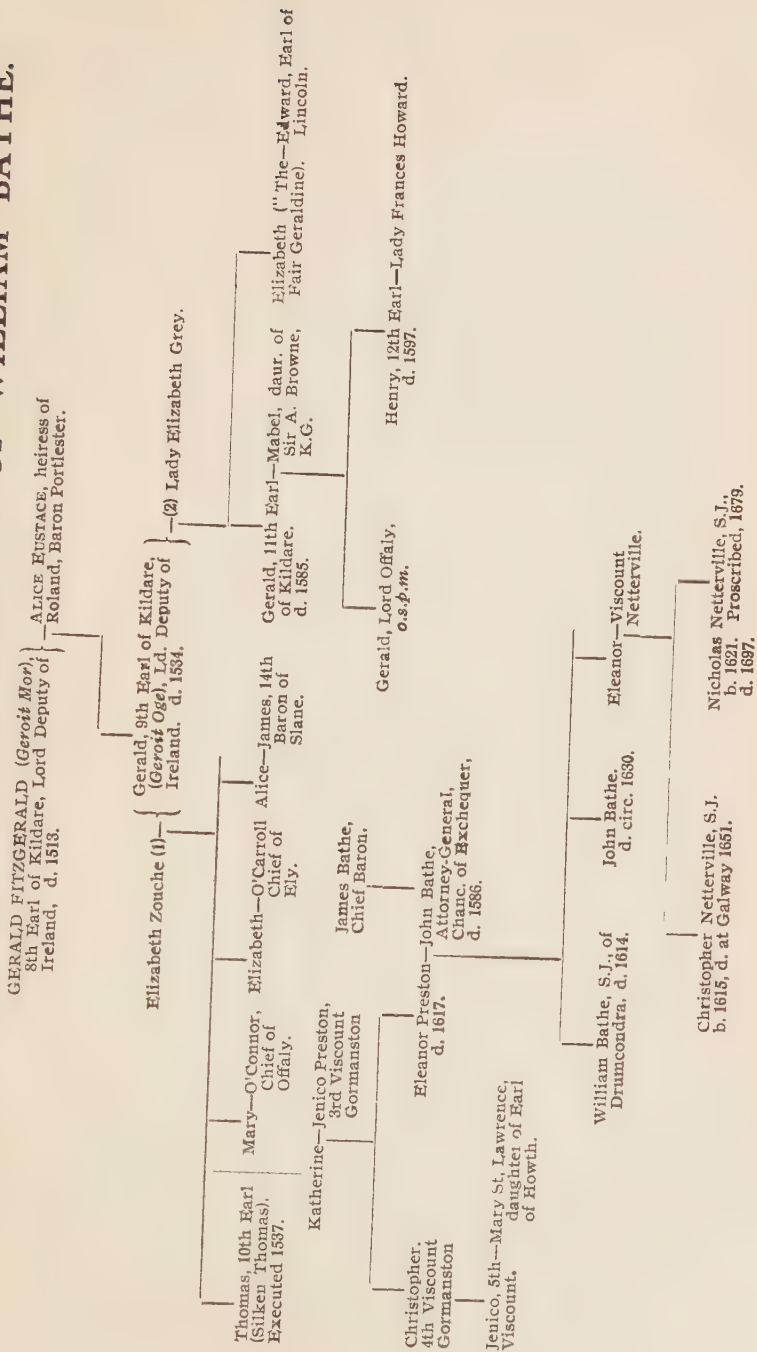
Propriam eodem simul tempore curam Batheus assumpsit pauperum, catechesi et eleemosynis undique corrogatis juvandorum: nec minore proventia Sodalitatem Nobilium excitavit, hodieque Salamanticæ primævo suo fervore florentissimam; ac denique Seminarium nationis suæ

juvenibus in ea Universitate fundavit, de quo sub cura Societatis annis sequentibus prodire in culturam vineæ Hybernicæ, a vulpibus Anglicanæ hæresis adeo vastatæ, plures 300 ferventissimi Sacerdotes; et multi diversas Religiones complexi evasere eximii Theologi, et primarum cathedrarum in celeberrimis Europæ Academiis Professores: nec pauci creati Episcopi, Archi-Episcopi, Prælati Ecclesiarum, tam intra quam extra Hyberniam: quidam carceres et vincula pro Fide, ipsamque mortem perpassi, et miraculis ante ac post mortem clari. Horum non exiguam partem evocavit et collegit Pater Batheus, et in spiritu promovit: profectus interim sui minime incurius, quem continua quadam cum Deo tractatione, et terna per anni decursum in ascesi Ignatiana decemdiaria spiritus sui instauratione urgebat; menstruo item per diem integrum (quem, cibi penitus abstinens, traducendo, diem suæ reformationis vocabat) actionum suarum omnium velut ad divinum tribunal examine et castigatione.

Castimoniam illibatam summa sensuum custodia conservavit, et muro paupertatis evangelicæ ita obsepsit, ut novis indui vestibis nunquam sustinuerit, vetustis et male sartis contentus. Peculii omnis vel manibus attrectandi, nisi summa urgeret necessitas, parcissimus fuit; hinc nullum ejus valorem, et nummi unius ab altero diversum pretium dignoscebat; cogeaturque, si quid in juvenum aut pauperum alimoniam pecuniæ offerretur, valorem illius apud domus Ministrum indagare. Somno super nuda tabula brevissimum dabat tempus, perinde ac per diem vestitus; tantoque amplius indulgebat quotidianis flagellationibus, et asperrimo cilicio. Quibus rebus celebre ferebatur tota

Hispania Bathei nomen, et gratia præcipue tam singularis spiritualibus commentationibus animos exercendi: qua ipsa ex causa evocatus Madritum anno 1614, ut ad easdem præcipuos Aulæ Ministros manuduceret, repentina ægritudine in ipso apparatu oppressus, septiduo extinctus est Madriti, 17 Junii, anno ætatis 48, cujus æternam salutem paulo post magno cuidam servo suo Deus manifestare voluit.

APPENDIX II.—FAMILY CONNECTIONS OF WILLIAM BATHE.



APPENDIX III.

COMENIUS'S REFERENCES TO BATHE

A.—In the Preface to the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (1631).

(From the Second Edition, Text of 1632, copy in T.C.D.)

Omnium itaque votis optandum erat, Epitomen aliquam linguae totius ita construi, ut omnes, quotquot habet, voces et phrases in unum redactae corpus, brevi temporis spatio laboreque exiguo perceptae, facilem, jucundum, tutum, ad reales Authores transitum praestent. Vere enim D. Isaacus Habrecht scripsit: (sed quod minus prudenter quidam ad Dictionaria trahit); Quemadmodum, *inquit*, multo facilius esset visu dignoscere omnia animalia, visitando arcam noë, continentem ex omni genere bina selecta, quam peragrando totum terrarum orbem, donec casu in aliquod animal quis incidisset, eadem prorsus ratione, multo facilius omnia vocabula addiscentur, ex *Epitome Linguae*, in qua fundamenta omnium continentur, quam audiendo, loquendo, legendo, donec casu in tot vocabula quis incidat.

Animadvertit id, paucis abhinc annis e Jesuitis nonnemo, qui uno fasce complexus linguam Latinam totam, vulgavit (sub titulo Collegii Hibernici Salamanae Hispaniarum) JANUAM LINGUARUM, Latine et Hispanice, ubi Sententiarum duodecim centuriis comprehensa, sunt omnia usitatoria Linguae Latinae vocabula, eoque modo dislocata, ut nullum eorum, (exceptis particulis Sum. Ex. in, etc.) semel positum recurrat, unumquodque tamen in debita constructione et phrasi decora audiatur.

Haec inventio quam primum Anglis visa fuit, approbata, commendata, et loquela Anglicana aucta, atque anno 1615 typis vulgata fuit. Quam biennio post D. Isaacus Habrecht Argentinensis, Germanus, Gallicae linguae adjectione auxit, et ibidem quadrilinguem edidit: in Germaniamque reversus, Germanicam quoque adjuuxit versionem, mire eam linguas docendi et discendi rationem commendans. Compendiosissimam enim, certissimam, utilissimam, et nunquam satis laudatam appellat. Cujus rei suffragatores facile reperit multos. Nam et typis variis Germaniae locis editaest, et distracta avide, et in scholas quasdam non incelebres introducta, et anno 1629 octilinguis luci exposita.

Haec cum ad meas quoque venisset manus, avide, et ingenti cum voluptate, semel et iterum perlegi, impense juventuti gratulans, quod certiora indies imbecillitatis subsidia, divino munere concedantur. Verum paulo post, attentius eam cum scopo suo conferens, dubitare coepi, num praestaret, quod promittit: tertiâque accuratiore cum judicio lectione deprehendi, jure titulum tueri non posse.

Quod vere et absque invidia dici, inde palam, quod Januae non praestet usum.

Janua enim domus, annon foris adventantes intromittit? Ita sane. Haec autem Patrum Hibernorum *janua* tyronibus in Latinitatem aliunde introducendis, aut parum aut nihil confert. Triplici id evincitur ratione. Primo etenim, nonnulla vocum pars, quas quotidianus requirit usus, hic desideratur: econtra insolentia multa, tyronum captum et usum excedentia, depromuntur. Quam obcausam recte M. Johannes Rhenius judicavit, Jesuiticam hanc *januam* non tam ad instituendos linguarum tyrones, quam ad explorandos aliquosque progressorum, imprimis autem sciorum, in Latina lingua profectus, adhiberi posse. Isthac vero ratione non *Januae*, sed *Postici* obtineat nomen. Alterum desidero, quod cum singulae voces non nisi semel ponuntur, etiam polysemæ, et homonymæ (quarum *Lingua Latina* bene multum habet, ut et *idiomata caetera*) non nisi semel. Quomodo igitur ab hac linguarum *Janua* in authorum lectionem mittetur (is enim *Januae* scopus) Latinitatis tyro, qui tot vocum alias atque alias significationes ignorabit? Et vero (quod tertio, et quidem potissimum; desidero posuisset saltem unamquamque vocem in principali, id est, primo, simplici, nativoque suo significatu! reliqua inde sagax ingenium odoraretur facilius. Factum autem id non est. Pleraeque voces translate usurpantur, metaphorice, metonymice, aut synechdochice: utpote cum sententiarum elegantiam plerubique captarit Autor.

His positis metis, juxta et Hibernorum sequutus

Januam, non nisi semel quamlibet posui vocem, Homonymis exceptis, quorum si diversa significatio exprimenda fuit, diversis locis (in diversa nempe materia) omnino repetenda fuerunt. De connexivis particulis, Et, Sed, Quia, Omnis, etc., nemo, spero, litem movebit.

Indeculam vocum, ut Patres Hiberni fecerunt, non adjunximus (quamvis ad manum sit) quia non adeo interesse putamus: si usus poscet, fiet.

B.—In the *Novissima Linguarum Methodus* (1648).

(Text as in Amsterdam folio, 1657, Vol. II., Chapter VIII., Sections 20—22).

Non hic silentio praetereunda est elegans inventio Januae Linguarum Hibernica: cujus Historian ut a nobilissimo viro, Dn. Johanne Bodek (quem honoris nomino, quippe cujus industriae inventi publicationem primam debemus) accepi, paucis referam. Susceperat enim is cum Generosis quibusdam Anglis (ex Pauletorum et Palmeriorum prae-nobili familia) Anno 1605 and Hispanos peregrinationem: cumque Vallisoleti Legatum Regis Angliae (in acta pacis paulo ante inter duo ista regna per Connestablium Castellae Johannem de Velasco, sancitae, juraturum) aliquot septimanas expectarent, accidit ut a Patribus Theatinis (ita Jesuitae Hispanis nominantur) ex Seminario Anglicano Salmanticensi salutarentur. Inter quos cum esset Hibernus quidam pater, sermoque de addiscenda compendio Lingua Hispanica incideret, et consilium peteretur,

Methodum ille suam, qua linguam quoque Sanctam addiscendo feliciter usus fuisset, commendare coepit: Voces nimirum Latino-Hispanicas in sententiis 1200 redactas, quas quisquis didicisset, totius linguae fundamenta intelligere, et quod restaret, Auctorum Hispanicorum lectione (inter quos Ludovici Granatensis opera commendabat) suppleri posset. Quod scriptum postquam illis pro suo ipsorum duntaxat usu communicasset, ab illis in Angliam delatum est, inventioque digna habita quae tenebris premi non permetteretur. Prodiit igitur in Anglia primum cum Anglica et Gallica versione Libellus, hoc titulo: “*Janua Linguarum, sive modus ad integritatem Linguarum compendio cognoscendam maxime accommodatus: ubi Sententiarum Centuriis aliquot omnia usitatiora et necessaria Vocabula semel comprehensa sunt, ita ut postea non recurrant, exceptisque quasi transcendentalibus istis sum, in, a, ex, et similibus paucis, etc.*” Recususque est idem libellus in Germania ab Isaaco Habrecht, Argentoratensium medico. Sed eundem Gaspar Scioppius Mediolani sub nomine “*Mercurii Bilinguis*” (Latino—Italice anno 1627) edidit: titulo autem “*Mercurii Quadrilinguis*” (Latino—Germano—Graeco—Hebraei) 1636 Basileae. Ex quo admiranda facilitate Linguam Latinam et quamvis aliam disci posse mire deprædicat: auctoremque ipsum Wilhelmum Bateum (qui ingenti suo et amicorum labore inter quos fuit frater ejus Johannes Bateus, et qui postremam manum imposuit, sententiasque in duodecim centurias digessit, P. Stephanus Hibernus—opus concinnarat) moriturum An. 1614 Matriti inventionem suam sibi commendasse narrat.

Horum omnium ignaro mihi, obvenit etiam anno 1628 de compendiosiore Linguam Latinam tradendi via, cogitandi occasio condendum putavi librum qui ordine res omnes rerumque proprietates, actiones, passionem percenseret

Quod consilium cum detexissem amicis, monuit nonnemo exstare jam ejusmodi libellum, sub titulo “Januae Linguarum,” communicavitque. Subsilii gaudio: sed inspecto libello, non esse id quod nobis optari coeptum erat, vidi; adeoque consilium secutus meum concinnare opusculum perrexi Quod cum absolvissem, sub titulo “Januae Linguarum Reseratae (reseratiore enim sic fore Linguarum interiora, quam apud Patres illos Hibernos sperabam) Anno 1631 foras misi”

(Chapter XVII., Section 12.)

Placuit vero insigniter quod inventionis primae illius Januae Linguarum Hibernicae, primam occasionem fuisse, Religionis Christianae propagationem, Caspar Scioppius testatur

APPENDIX IV.

I.

Some Representative Sentences from the *Janua Linguarum Reserata* of Comenius (1631).

1. Salve, Lector amice.
2. Si rogas, quid sit eruditum esse? Responsum habe, nosse rerum differentias, et posse unumquodque suo insignire nomine.
3. Nihilne praeterea? nil certe quidquam.
4. Totius eruditionis posuit fundamenta, qui Nomenclaturam Rerum perdiscit.
5. Sed id difficile forsitan?
6. Est, si invitus feceris, aut praeveniente imaginatione teipsum terrueris.
7. Tandem, si quid asperitatis erit, initio erit.
8. Annon et literarum characteres pueris primo intuitu mira monstra videntur?
9. Ast ubi paululum impenderint operae, ludum et jocum esse animadvertunt.
10. Idem in omni re evenit, ut aspectu exteriori operosa appareat.
11. At, si aggredi pergas, nihil est quod non cedat, et se subdat ingenio.

12. Qui cupit, capit omnia.
13. Itaque quisquis es, sperare te jubeo, desperare veto.
14. En vide exiguum hoc opusculum.
15. Hic tamen Universum mundum exhibebo, totamque Latinam linguam.
16. Tenta, quaeso, et volve, et edisce aliquot has pagellas!
17. Facto hoc, oculatum te ad omnia humanitatis studia reipsa comperies.

XII. DE HERBIS.

126. Herba cauli vel Scapo innititur.
127. Ex his Rapum, Napus, Siser, Raphanus major, Raphanus minor, Pastinaca, Brassica (Crambe), Lactuca, Scolymus, Apium (Petroselinum), Nasturtium, Olera vocantur.
128. Fruges sunt, quae in Culmum surgunt, et spicas (sive aristatas, sive mutilas) ferunt, Glumis autem granum fovent, ut Oryza, Zea (Ador), Milium, Panicum.
129. Legumina vero siliquis et valvulis, ut in Faba, Piso, Cicera, Ervo (Vicia) Lente, videre est.
130. Sed qui sit, ut Triticum in Siliginem (secale) imo in Zizania et Lolium? Hordeum in Aegilopem? Avena in Avenam fatuam degeneret?
131. Farrago pectoris causa seritur.
132. Papaver capitatum soporandi vim habet.
133. Bulbosa sunt Allium, Cepa, Porrus.

134. Aromata sunt Piper, Zingiber, Zedoaria, Cinnamomum, Nux myristica, Macer (Macir, vulgo Macis), Caryophylla, Acorum, Coriandrum, Anisum, Anethum, Cuminum, Sinapi.
135. Odoriferae et coronariae sunt, Amaracus, Amarantus, Cariophyllus, Paeonia, Rosa, Rosmarinus, Lilium, Viola, Serpyllum, Primula veris, eae.
136. Medicinales sunt Abrotonum, Acetosa, Apiastrum, Atriplex, Betonica, Borrago, Buglossum, Cardui varii, Centaurium, Camomilla (Chamaemelum), Cichorium, Cyanus, Ebulus, Gentiana, Helenium (Inula), Helleborus, Hypericum, Lappa, Malva, Nardus, Narcissus, Hyssopus, Lavandula, Menta, Pulegium, Ruta, Salvia, Ocymum, Pyrethrum, Scolopendrium, Trifolium, Urtica, Alga, Muscus, Panaces.
137. Aconitum, Cicuta, Napellus venenatae sunt.

XLVII. DE FABRILIBUS ARTIFICIIS..

522. Primitus in specubus et cavernis et tabernis et frondeis tabernaculis et cespititiis tuguriolis referta sunt.
523. Haec alicubi excelsa sunt, alibi humilia.
524. In casa exili quis lubens degit?
525. Architectus aedificat adjutantibus Fabris, securi et malleo operas suas peragentibus.
526. Faber murarius contignationem scandens, e caemento (a lapicida parato) et calce muros fabricatur et crustat: idque ad libellam et perpendicularum.

527. Lignarius vel tignarius (faber) trabe ferreis ansis firmata, ad amussim ascia asciat (segmentis et assulis avolantibus), terebra terebrat (forat), trochleis elevat, parietas coordinat, clavis impactis consolidat.
528. Ligna, ne cariem sentiant, post plenilunium succidantur.
529. Lignator arbores sternit, serra serrat (scobe recidente, tuditeque cunem adigit, et findit, strues componit, ut et sarmentorum fasces.
530. Scriniarius (Arcularius, Capsarius) asseres runcina et dolabra edolat, glutine conglutinat, vernice illinit.

APPENDIX V.

The Prefatory Tractate to the first edition of the *Janua
Linguarum* of William Bathe.

PROÆMIUM HUIUS TRACTATULI.

Ingenti communis utilitatis spe adducti hoc opusculum, quantulumcunque est, typis mandare decrevimus: etenim hand ullam plane credidimus tam salutarem esse medicinam ad sananda prorsus tot vulnera, peregrinas addiscentibus linguas inflicta, quam per hanc ianuam ingressum: quod ex commodis, quae subsequenter eos, patebit. Hoc enim maxime viris Apostolicis in infidelium regionibus, qui seminandae fidei navant operam, ad barbaras et peregrinas addiscendas linguas conducet: hoc etiam confessariis, ut exterarum gentium arcana pectoris sensa cognoscere possint, commodum erit, in iis praesertim locis, quos alienigenae viri maxime frequentant: hoc potissimum iam aetate provectis, qui taedio grammatices a sacris ordinibus deterrentur, subveniet: hoc molestum volvendi toties vocabularii laborem minuet: hoc piis eorum desideriis succurret, qui ad sola Evangelia precesque intelligendas, mediocres aliquando subirent labores, communes vero tam intricatos nunquam: hoc fecundior

verborum segetem grammatices et rhetoribus uno trimestri quam aliud quidvis toto trienni subministrabit, idque maxime in linguis non vulgaribus, Hebraica, Graeca, et Latina: hoc aptissimum erit praeceptoribus ad digito statim demonstranda verborum omnium in autoribus passim occurrentium fundamenta; plura enim verba omnino diversa trium schedularum finibus, quam ingenti aliquo volumine continentur: hoc itinera facientibus longe jucundissimum, utpote qui in hac arte, brevissimo ambitu, silvam verborum nationis illius, ad quam tendunt, sibi comparare possint: hoc variis negotiis implicatis, veluti Principum oratoribus, ad externa perdiscenda idiomata, temporis angustias redimet: hoc famulis honorariis nobilium iacturam non adeundi Scholas publicas ex parte resarciat: hoc plurimum conferet ad parcendum sumptibus aegre ferentium tot annos in humanioribus litteris impendi: hoc etiam illos excitabit ad studia nobiles, qui mediocrem laborem libenter, sed communem et fastidiosum aegre aut vix subibunt: inserviet etiam omnibus, qui necessitatis aut honestae recreationis causa linguas vulgares magis necessarias et nobiliores addiscere cupiunt, quales sunt Italica, Hispanica, Germanica, et Gallica, facta etiam omnium vocabulorum in sententiis comprehensione. Hinc facile potest elici medium corrigendi ridiculos errores, in quos plurimi in pronuntiatione, orthographia, aliisque quae ad linguarum elegantiam pertinent, quotidie labuntur. Est etiam notatu dignum, multos esse autores qui sententias morales collegerunt, et typis mandari curarunt, nihil aliud sectantes; at vero qui sententias morales huius artificii in ordinem redegerunt (licet ita

adstricti, ut nullum verbum bis apponeretur, nec duo nomina quae aliquo cognationis vinculo connexa essent in tanta tamque multiplici sententiarum varietate repeterentur) utiles et incundas in medium produxerunt. Quam multi sunt ex praedictis autoribus, apud quos saepe reperiuntur sententiae tam insipidae et leviusculae, ut recte dubitari possit, utrum potius bibliopolarum commodum spectarent, quam lectorum utilitatem, dum quasi rudem indigestamque molem in unam, ut ita dicam, Myconem congerent. Haec experientia in posterum constabunt, quae nunc etiam aliquatenus constant. Quidam enim Lusitanus, qui optimos in lingua Anglicana progressus fecerat, biennio, quo illis in partibus commoratus est, cum in quendam impolita quaedam huius artificii fragmenta habentem incidisset, amboque linguam Anglicanam calluissent, atque inter se collocuti essent, alterum percunctatur alter, num sibi Lusitanus videretur multum profecisse? Immo vero, inquit, plurimum: optime enim et loquor, et loquentes intelligo. Atqui ego, inquit alter, ex sinu schedulam depromens, hoc tibi foliolum tantummodo opponam, pluribus enim redundat verbis, quorum vix mediam partem intelligas, quam tu biennia magno labore et studio assecutus es. Subridere Lusitanus, foliumque manibus attrectans, ne mediam quidem cum tamen omnia familiaria essent, intelligere potuit. Tum demum mirari, vixque fieri posse credebat quod experientia edoctus agnovit. Nec minorem omnibus amicis admirationem iniecit quidam Italus, qui vixdum elapso unius mensis curriculo, idque festivis tantum et succisivis horis, tantam brevi linguae Anglicanae segetem emessuit, ut et epistolas

Anglicè scriberet, et commode loqueretur, cum tamen nec ullum unquam Anglum allocutus fuisset, nec librum ullum Anglicanum, hoc solo excepto, attigerit. His accessêre quidam Ibernus, et Gallus; quorum priorem memoriae hisce sententiis mandatis, et explicatis, cum nullum unquam autorem Latinum antea legisset, unam Ciceronis epistolam quae illi proposita est, interpretantem vidimus. Alter in Collegio Patavino Societatis Jesu, cum per biennium Italicae linguae operam navaret in Indiam profecturus, quid de hoc artificio consuerit, efficacissimis illis verbis capite nono recensendis, omnibus testatum reliquit. Huiuscemodi plura alia silentio praeterimus: opusculum enim hoc, tot incundissimis et utilissimis curiositatibus adornatum, cuilibet propria, non aliena experientia commendatissimum fore non dubitamus. Quae tamen hic de linguis addiscendis habentur, cum ad easdem intelligendas praecipue subserviant, non ita accipienda sunt ut quis existimet tironem statim prompte locuturum, tametsi ad hoc et plurimum conducant: nam ut multo facilius esset visu dignoscere omnia animalia visitando arcam Noë, continentem ex omni genere bina selecta, quam peragrando totam orbem terrarum, donec casu in aliquod animal cuiuscunque generis quis incidisset: eadem prorsus ratione multo facilius omnia vocabula addiscentur harum sententiarum usu, in quibus continentur fundamenta omnium, quam audiendo, loquendo, aut agendo, donec casu in tot vocabula quis incidat.

JANUA LINGUARUM.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

De ordine observando in hoc tractatulo, et partibus praecipuis in quibus consistit notitia alicuius linguae.

Scite divinus ille Plato, ordo est anima rerum. Sive enim puros illos aethereos spiritus, seu difformem caelestis machinae conformitatem, et inaequabilem aequabilitatem, seu proximam huic elementorum dissonantem consonantiam, seu rationalitatis in irrationalitatem imperium, seu in ipso scilicet ordine superiorum et inferum potentiarum subiectionem, seu denique ipsius communis naturae a vacuo tantopere abhorrentis, subordinatam unionem spectemus; in omnibus admirabilem ordinem, et mensuram admirabiliorem immortalis illius artificis architecturam muta, qua licet, voce collaudantem advertemus. Quare, ut etiam in minimis, illum ad cuius similitudinem facti sumus, imitemur, in hoc minimo opusculo ordinem non solum observare conati sumus, sed et eundem in exordio statim observaturos insinuamus. Isque huiusmodi est, ut primo finis, deinde mediorum, mox executionum, denique circumstantiarum rationem habituri simus. Finis quidem huius opusculi est, certitudine, facilitate et brevitate accommodatissimam ad omnes linguas addiscendas methodum demonstrare: ad quam consequendum medium sequentium capitum praecepta

ordinata sunt, eorum denique praxis et executio, huiusque pedisequae circumstantiae, omnia notatu digna, quae eandem circumstant et promovent, de quibus agendum in fine. Interea, cum haec omnia ad linguarum elucidationem referantur, praenotandum est, cuiuslibet linguae corpus ex quattuor praecipue membris consistere, vocabulis, congruitate, phrasibus, et elegantia: vocabula dictionarium, congruitates Grammatica, phrases autores, elegantiam suis schematibus rhetores depingunt; phrases vocamus idiotismos, sive peculiare cuiuslibet linguae loquendi modos.

CAPUT SECUNDUM.

De tribus viis addiscendi linguas, regulari, irregulari, media, et earum inter se comparatione.

Ad linguas addiscendas, quae ex quattuor praedictis partibus coalescunt, duplex hactenus reperta tantummodo via: regularis, qualis est ad congruitates observandas Grammatica et irregularis, qualis est communis discentium usus, per lectionem et loquelam in linguis vulgaribus: quae quidem via ad se mutuo sic se habent, ut regularis plus certitudinis, irregularis plus facilitatis habeat: prior, ubi lingua communiter non usurpatur, praeferenda: posterior, ubi lingua est vulgaris. Sin autem via tertia media excogitari queat, quae certitudine regularem, facilitate irregularem adaequet, multis profecto numeris utramque superaret, qualem hic nos divino favente numine demonstrandam suscepimus.

CAPUT TERTIUM.

De via media addiscendi linguas, applicanda primo membro quattuor praedictorum.

Quemadmodum congruitates Grammatica, ita verba vocabularium regulariter docet, unde hîc oritur quaestio, quî fit ut in congruitatibus addiscendis alii regularem, alii irregularem viam sequantur, at vero in verbis addiscendis nemo regularem, perdiscendo vocabularium prae se ferat? Huiusce triplex assignari potest ratio. Prima, quia in vocabulario multa verba rara, et ad propositum multorum inutilia iacent. Secunda, quia tanta adest inter nonnulla affinitas, ut cognito uno fundamentalî, velut aliorum fonte, caetera inde facillime colligantur; qualia sunt, turbo, per-turbo, conturbo, disturbo, turbatus, turbans, turbatio; et alia plurima, quae ex unius significatione praehabita facile innotescunt, ita ut specialem discentis conatum non mereantur. Tertia, idque maxime, quia verba in vocabulario posita nullum habent sensum: unde provenit, ut memoria intellectus ope destituta non sit illorum tenax. Ad quae impedimenta tollenda, triplici proportionata industria, praesens institutum ordinatur. Ad tollendum enim primum, diviso in duas partes Calepino, relictis raris, ex familiaribus solummodo index fabricatur: per familiaria, et rara, frequentiora et minus frequentia intelligimus. Ad tollendum secundum, sola fundamentalia, praetermissis colligibilibus, indici inseruntur. Ad subveniendum tertio, sententiae memoriae aptae, brevitate summa componuntur: quippe cum nullo verbo bis repetito charta oneretur;

quanquam non nulla saepius (cum transcendentium prae-rogativa gauderent, et id suo iure postulare viderentur) suum privilegium concedendum, urgente potissimum necessitate, censuerimus: cuiusmodi sunt, et, in, qui, sum, fio, et similia transcendentia, et particulae. In praesentia vero, quanquam sola prodeant familiaria, nihilominus si primus hic foetus, tanquam columba ex arca Noë egrediens, felices nuntios, acceptumque se omnibus esse retulerit, non minori industria, adiunctis raris aliisque ad caeterorum membrorum fabricam requisitis, et hic ipse splendidioribus ornamentis vestitus, in publicum sese rursus dabit.

CAPUT QUARTUM.

De indice colligendo, in quo vocabula suis numeris signata reperiantur.

Antequam praedicta ratione sententiae componantur, expediebat collegisse indicem, cui sola familiaria, eaque fundamentalia, raris et colligibilibus omissis, inserantur. Qui termini in hac arte maxime perpendendi, clareque et distincte intelligendi sunt: sicut enim inter omnia alia extrema reperitur interstitii latitudo, ita inter familiaria et rara reperiuntur media, et inter fundamentalia et colligibilia mixta: sed si sine congrua necessitate verborum classes regularumque serragines accumulentur, media ad hoc vel illud extremum, cui iudicio prudentis magis accedunt, reducenda sunt. Ut autem horum extremorum discrimen profundis penetremus, advertendum

illud septem fundamentis niti; ea sunt tempus, locus, status, significatio, stylus, modus, et opinio. Sunt enim verba respectu unius temporis familiaria, et alterius rara: sic de locis, sic de statibus, ut in verbis inter medicos familiarissimis, et inter alios raris; sic in una significatione unum idemque familiare, et in alia rarum reperiatur: in stylo poetica familiare, et oratorio rarum: opinione unius familiare, et alterius rarum. Unde, ut prudenter in hoc opere procederetur, vocabulorum selector certis se limitibus circumscripsit, qui fuere status discipulorum operam literis humanioribus in Belgio navantium, ubi et ipse amoenum studiorum stadium percurrit, et Latina lingua adeo floret, ut si cupias, non defuturi sint mechanici, qui expeditius Latine tecum colloquantur quam alibi forte iuris periti, et indigenae qui literas profitentur, Latina quam materna lingua familiari in sermone libentius utantur. Indice sic collecto, sententiae suis numeris distinctae colligendae erant, omni vocabulo in indice numerum quem habet in sententiis affigendo, ut discendi cupido statim innotescat, quam quodque verbum stationem in centuriis teneat. Utque clarius termini hic usitati patescant, notandum, fundamentalia nostra non coincidere cum Grammaticorum primitivis. Quando enim sunt multa verba re et voce ita affinia, ut quodlibet ex quolibet praecognito colligi possit, unumquodque respectu caeterorum, ut fundamentale seligi potest, licet unum tantum sit primitivum: et quamvis in sententiis parum referat, sitne primitivum an derivativum, simplex, an compositum: in indice tamen expedit seligere primitivum aut simplex, nisi sit prorsus inusitatum, quale est verbum, *stauro*, simplex prorsus, inusitatum respectu

horum verborum *instauro* et *restauro*. At vero quoties continget derivativum ordine alphabetico primum esse caeterorum fundamentale, indici erit referendum. Quae dicta sunt de indice verborum familiarium, proportionaliter ad indicem rarorum applicari possunt, in alia editione de raris. Possent etiam omnia verba vocabularii, nullo excepto, ita per classes distinguui, ut tandem in uno volumine reperiantur distincte: primo fundamentalia familiaria; secundo, fundamentalia rara; tertio, colligibilia familiaria, quarto colligibilia rara. Nunc autem haec et his similia brevitatis gratia in hac editione silentio praeterimus. Notandum vero discrimen inter familiare, et usitatum, sicut et inter rarum et inusitatum, ut hic usurpantur hi termini; nam ut vocabulum aliquod sit usitatum sufficit, ut data occasione tractandi de re significata vocabulum sit in usu apud probatos autores. Ut tamen vocabulum aliquod sit familiare, requiritur ulterius rem significatam talem esse, ut quotidie aut communiter occurrat de eo sermo inter illos, quorum statum selector vocabulorum respicit.

CAPUT QUINTUM.

De sententiis, et oratione continuata in fine.

Inter inventorem, ejusque in hoc artificio cooperatores aliquandiu controversum fuerat, quâ maxime methodo, in vocabulis per sententias conglutinandis, progrediendum foret: tandemque statutum, ut moralitatis quanta liceret ratio haberetur. Quod quidem ad sextam centuriam ex-

clusive observatum est. Tum vero ulterius ob senilem vocabularii accendentem aetatem progredi non licuit: quae tamen commodissima fieri potuit ratione, subsequentes sententiae in suas centurias et classes distributae sunt, quorum prioribus non deest suus, quantuluscunque in senili aetate, succus. In posterioribus vero centuriis, cum iam decrepita quodammodo ingravesceret aetas, nonnullas fatemur sententias priores non adaequare, quas numero paucas inter tot centenas aequo benignum lectorem animo laturum confidimus. Quemadmodum enim et in primis centuriis multa iucundae cuiusdam curiositatis gratia passim sparguntur, cuiusmodi sunt sententias primas esse de Deo et ipse principio, et paulo subsequentes sextam et septimam, rationem reddentes cur aliqua familiaria utpote res foedas et non nominandas significantia, omiserimus: sic etiam et posterioribus non deest sua venustas et gratia. Nam cum supra essent adverbium, et vocabula indeclinabilia, quae nullatenus sentiis brevioribus commode inseri poterant (cum pleraque ad combinandas orationis magis continuatae partes spectarent) ex istis et reliquis vocabulis casu, in fine relictis, composita est oratiuncula, ita ut coactus sit ille, qui eam composuit, illis solis ordine alphabetico in vocabulario sparsim iacentibus, adeoque disparatis, sese adstringere, quod difficillimum fuit. Hoc tamen qualiter praestiterit, benignus lector facile viderit, cum duo illa Horatii et Ovidii carmina, ut ob auctoritatem tantummodo assumpta esse innotescat, diversis characteribus imprimuntur.

CAPUT SEXTUM.

De Congruitate.

Sicut ex praedictis patet, posse omnia vocabula via media in sentiis addisci, quae sint aequae faciles ac locutiones communes viae irregularis, et aequae certae ac via regularis vocabularii, dum secum adducunt omnia quae in eodem continentur; ita de iis quae ad congruitatem spectant dicendum. Omnia enim quae in Grammatica regulis praescribuntur, possunt etiam sentiis commode doceri, ita ut facilius, citius, et certius animis inhaereant, quam nudis regulis Grammaticalibus per se fieri queat. Et hoc ad finem et proprium institutum addiscendi linguam sufficiet, idque maxima in linguis vulgaribus, non est necesse scientificè percipere quae ad methodum Grammaticalem pertinent.

At vero in linguis scholasticis, Latina scilicet, Graeca, et Hebraica, quae methodice in scholis docentur, ad artem Grammaticam comparandam, haec via media non sufficiet; duplex est enim finis Grammaticae, scilicet congruenter loqui, et hic primarius est, et arti, et usui communis; et praecepta scientificè tradere, quibus fiat ut congruitas non utcunque, sed methodice, et via artis adquiratur; et hic finis est secundarius, et arti proprius, et in linguis Scholasticis ad intelligendos terminos artis, qui passim in autoribus occurrunt, necessarius. Ex quibus patet quam longe lateque se extendat utilitas huius via mediae, et in quibus non sufficiat. Nunc vero exacte docere, quomodo

possint sententiae ita combinari, ut in illis omnia, quae ad intelligendos terminos artis, qui passim in autoribus occurrunt, necessarius. Ex quibus patet quam longe lateque se extendat utilitas huius viae mediae, et in quibus non sufficiat. Nunc vero exacte docere, quomodo possint sententiae ita combinari, ut in illis omnia, quae ad finem primum congruenter loquendi inveniantur, non est huius loci, dum in hac editione tantum pars prima ad vocabula spectans prodit.

CAPUT SEPTIMUM.

De phrasibus, et elegantia.

Ut vocabula sententiis, ita phrases, et elegantiae continuato discursu summa breuitate commodissimè comprehendere possunt; sed quia executio huiusce multos operarios requirit, ut expeditè, et perfectè fiat, necesse est hoc ad posteriores editiones remittere. Si quis tamen interim priuato suo studio hoc sibi, et suis praeferre voluerit, hæc illie norma suscipiet. Primo colligendæ sunt ex autoribus, qui ex professo de his tractant, phrases similiter et elegantiae, quales ad linguam Latinam habet Aldus Manutius. Secundo, quemadmodum vocabula in orationculam post sententias nullo repetito rediguntur; sic illa omnia in unicum discursum sine superfluis eiusdemverbi repetitionibus compingenda sunt.

CAPUT OCTAVUM.

De translatione sententiarum in alias linguas vulgares.

Duplex est transferendi hasce sententias in linguas vulgares finis: unus, ut qui linguam vulgarem iam callet, sententias sic Latinas intelligat: alter, ut qui linguae vulgaris. Ad priorem finem consequendum sufficeret, transtulisse sententias in quantum fieri possit verbo tenus, ut genuina cuiuscunque vocabuli significatio magis innotescat: ad posteriorem vero superaddenda est alia industria. Primo enim translatis sententiis cuiuscunque linguae vulgaris index est componendus, et cuilibet vocabulo numerus sententiae, in quo reperitur, opponendus. Tum demum ex verbis relictis, si quae superfutura sint, sententiae componendae, quod ad institutum praesens sat erit. Utque nihil quisquam desiderare posset, peculiarem verborum classem, quibus plurales significationes contingeret, addidimus, in quam praecipua, etsi non omnia, contulimus: ad quorum imitationem quae desunt, facile quisque suo studio sibi accumulare poterit.

CAPUT NONUM.

De Impressione.

Plurimi prudentissimi, quibuscum huiusce opificii inventor saepius egerat, non solum id dignum quod typis mandaretur censuere, verum etiam ut ad id opere perficiendum autor animum induceret ab invito propemodum

extorsere. Quorum unus natione Gallus e Societate Jesu, in Provincia Veneta, opportune importune nil non conatus est, ut ad ingentem Indorum Orientalium, et Occident-
alium (ad quos profecturus erat) reliquorumque nationum utilitatem et commodum, quam citissime fieri posset, ultima huic operi manus adderetur, et in publicum prodiret. Cuius tam vehementis et sancti sui desiderii efficax testimonium, subsequentibus verbis manu propria scriptis, apud autorem, ad saepius refricandam eius memoriam, deposuit.

Per sanguinem zelantium et salutem gentium rogo, ut hanc eleemosynam spiritualem, tantopere ad tot millium animarum salutem spectantem, non mihi negetis: et sic turba, quam dinumerare nemo potest ex omni gente, et lingua, specialem habeit occasionem orandi pro vobis benefactoribus suis.

Quae quidem obtestatio inventorem summopere stimulavit ad hoc opus perficiendum, et typis mandandum, eorum gratia, quia ad Indiam et alias infidelium nationes proficiscuntur ad fidem propagandam.

CAPUT DECIMUM.

De executione, et circumstantiis.

Quemadmodum insulsi prorsus meritissimo iudicaremur, si finem aliquem consequendum esse, non praesuppositis, et explicatis mediis ad hoc facientibus, suaderemus; haud aliter profecto censendi essemus, si declaratis iis mediis, ea talia essent, quorum executio vel esset impossibilis, vel

certe huic proxime accedens, difficillima. Cum vero et finis sit praeclarus, et media facilia, et executio facillima neminem tam ingratum fore spectamus, qui hoc opusculum non utilissimum censeat. Priora ita se habere quisquis praecedentia legerit, facile viderit: nec minus etiam posterius iudicaverit, quippe quae in solis sententiis, cum explicationibus memoriae mandandis consistit: quod quam facile, et quanta cum brevitate quisque praestare poterit, noverit qui se suamque memoriam penitus perspexerit. Hoc tamen scimus, si quis divina arte memoriae localis praeditus foret, de qua tot mirabilia antiqui tradunt, unius illum bidui aut tridui curriculo hoc assecuturum, ut omnes has centurias in lingua sibi nota, memoriae mandare posset, unde facilius idiomatis ignoti sententias respondentes valeat intelligere; quod nemini, qui vel extremis (ut aiunt) labris eandem degustaverit artem, mirum est futurum. Caeterum nec minus facilis est verborum rarorum in sententias redigendorum executio, licet secus videri posset ob nominum in illa classe copiam, verborumque inopiam; quibus respondendum cum poeta nimium regorem relaxandum esse:

Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim. Tribus enim quibusque vocabulis raris, si quartum pro libito componentis familiare, combinationis gratia, addatur, omnis protinus evanescit difficultas: sicut et experientia compertum est, et clarius patefit hoc exemplo: Catascopus in Catascopio cataclista se contegit, ubi tria vocabula priora rara, disparata, et quae connexionem non admittunt, mediante verbo ultimo, connexionis gratia electo, facile combinantur. Plures aliae quoad execu-

tionem difficultates occurrunt: sed cum illorum praxis ad secundam editionem rarorum pertineat, illo patientem lectorem remittimus. Circumstantiae aliae multae executionem promoventes, cum tot, et cogitatu sint faciles, eas ingeniosis penetrandas praeterimus, quos tamen prae-monitos cupimus, longe minorem habituros omnes difficultatem in linguis vulgaribus per hoc artificium addiscendis, quam in Hebraica, Graeca, et Latina, idque ob defectum regularitatis, quae in istis tanto rigore observatur. Et sicut viatoribus incundum est iter habere per aequales partes in milliaria divisum, ut quota pars peragenda, et quota peracta sit, cognoscant: sic grata erit futuris huiusce artificii discipulis totius opusculi in certurias divisio, ut quot centuriae memoriae mandatae, et quot mandandae supersint, perspectum penitus habeant, et exploratum.

APPENDIX VI.

The Sentences of the *Janua Linguarum* (of 1611) which
treat of the Chief Moral Virtues.

CENTURIA PRIMA.

SENTENTIARUM MORALIUM. DE VIRTUE ET
VITIO IN COMMUNI.

1. In nomine sanctissimae Trinitatis.
2. Soli Deo creatori decus et gloria.
3. Initii difficultas toleranda.
4. Principium dimidium totius.
5. Facile est inventis addere.
6. Deteriora pertinacius haerent.
7. Foeda igitur prorsus abolenda.
8. Virtus laudata crescit, et honos alit artes.
9. Hoc momentum, unde pendet aeternitas.
10. Sub sordida reste saepe scientia.
11. Novitas acquirit gratiam.
12. Reminiscere te omnino pulverem esse.
13. Socius facundus pro vehiculo.
14. Quod scis ignoras, digito compesce labellum.
15. Declina a malo, et in bono te exerce.

16. Filii morigeri familiae fulcra.
17. Conscientia mille testes.
18. Quo magis licet, eo minus lubeat.
19. Eleemosynis peccata redime, et illibatus eris.
20. Labentem occulte corripe, nemo sine crimine.
21. Honesta reputatio est certum patrimonium.
22. Intelligens magistratum possidebit.
23. Intima benevolentia strictius unit, quam affinitas.
24. Minis didascali proficit discipulus.
25. Ex habitu praesumitur persona.
26. Flos inter vepres halat, et fulget.
27. Cunctis stat terminus aevi.
28. Pecuniae obediunt universa.
29. Praeconia post funera manent.
30. Commune discrimen dissidentes coniungit.
31. Operare continuo, ne te daemon praeoccupet.
32. Cygnus canoro tono suas prosequitur exequias.
33. Auxilia imbecillia firma consensus reddit.
34. A perversis vituperari, decorum.
35. Studiorum radices amarae, fructus vero sapidi.
36. Excelsus humilia respicit.
37. Flamma fumo proxima est.
38. Adolescentes inanibus non instruantur.
39. In equulei quaestionibus, et suspiriis, philosophandum est.
40. Contritio cordis est secunda post naufragium tabula.
41. Repetita plaga vexat aliquanto amplius.
42. Ursa caecos lambit catulos.
43. Ansam te locupletandi arripe modo.

44. Abrenuntia Sathanae, qui circuit ut devoret.
45. Abstergenda inflicta infamia.
46. Ne gradiaris per tramitem incommodum.
47. Inspirationibus internis attendas sedulo.
48. Rutilans iubar in caverna coruscat.
49. Rebus tibi iniunctis incunctanter incumbere.
50. Similis lactuca labris.
51. Expedit aspicias quod amittere possis.
52. Ob breve delictum, perpetuum supplicium.
53. Oblocutores et susurrones, etiam cerdonibus exosi.
54. Basilica reverenter visitanda.
55. Inter benignos sodales ne sis tetricus.
56. Supplici succurrere ne pigeat.
57. Figura saeculi instabilis.
58. Mores Imperatoris imitari, genus quoddam obsequii est.
59. Venusta facies, muta commendatio.
60. Eloquentiae symphonia mulcet, et favorem obtinet.
61. Frivola voluptas in instanti perit.
62. Praeclara accurate agenda.
63. Liberorum procreatio, angor voluntarius.
64. Neglecta iuventus sylvescit.
65. Circumstantia piaculum aggravat.
66. Saturitas illecebrarum nutrix.
67. Vulgi genius perplexus.
68. Ad calamitatem quilibet rumor sufficit.
69. Ingenius acerba pecunia.
70. Prævus cultura fit frugi.
71. Ut languent folio lilia pallido,
72. Sic splendor nitidis qui radiat genis,

73. Et pennis volitans forma fugacibus,
74. Curru perceleri fata ubi venerint,
75. Perpulchri spoliū corporis horridum,
76. Et nugas fragiles ludibrio dabunt.
77. Turgida curarum tempestas obruit aulas.
78. Invisa imperia, nunquam retinentur diu.
79. Hora permutat ima summis.
80. Non est e terris mollis ad astra via.
81. Nobilitas nequitiae velamen.
82. Flagitium, quod aestu celatur, aetas indicat.
83. Asinus ad lyram, anser inter Olores.
84. Considera, quam abominabile sit blasphemare.
85. Seditiosi Reipublicae ruina.
86. Accusator, qui consortem defert, sese intueatur.
87. Suspicio necessitudinis venenum.
88. Qui tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea.
89. Defunctum ne insectaberis maledictis.
90. Iniquorum secundus successus non te offendat.
91. Magistrum deludere insipientis est.
92. Nitimur in vetitum, cupimusque negata.
93. Acedia vitiis fomitem suppeditat.
94. Desidi semper feriae.
95. Vecordes verbis non subiguntur.
96. Insidiatur, qui admodum blanditur.
97. Assentatio magnatum perniciēs.
98. Sophista tergiversari solet.
99. Luxum suadent lascivi, non sophi.
100. Stulti doctrinam spernunt, et manticam a tergo occulunt.

CENTURIA SECUNDA.

DE PRUDENTIA ET IMPRUDENTIA.

101. Ambula cum prudentibus, et calcaribus non indigebis.
102. Sapienti sua sors placet.
103. Expende robur, priusquam quidquam aggrediaris.
104. Fronte capillata, post est occasio calva.
105. Non temere carruit, qui prospicit.
106. Sopitas dudum simultates ne suscite.
107. Sustine, abstine, mori memento.
108. Mora odio est, verum dat vires.
109. In portu navigat, qui se probe novit.
110. Aes speciei, vinum animae speculum est.
111. Oculus heri impinguat equum.
112. Beneficium accipere, libertatem vendere est.
113. Praecipitis iudicii comes est poenitentia,
114. Dolenti non est adhibenda fides.
115. Sponte oblatum dupliciter gratum.
116. Citius adest periculum, si vili pendatur.
117. Deliberandum est diu, quod statuendum est semel.
119. Ad consilium ne accesseris antequam voceris.
120. Silentii tutum praemium.
121. Fluxo ne fide color.
122. Siste gradum, depone fastum, quid vesper vehit incertum.
123. Emere malo quam rogare.
124. Interdum veteratorem fingere non juvat.

125. Vitae finem perpende, de crastino haud ullus securus.
126. Lacrymae feminarum ne te fallant.
127. Desinet ogganire conjux, si nihil respondeas.
128. Thesaurum et talentum ne abscondas in agro.
129. Adversus stimulum calcaneo ne calcitres.
130. Mendacem memorem esse oportet.
131. Pro dote solummodo ne ducas uxorem.
132. Suo indicio sorex deprehenditur.
133. Nuptam ad secreta ne admittas, garriendo enim ambos perdet.
134. Desolatos deridere dementia est.
135. Cives ob politiam, non propter moenia.
136. Abyssum divini numinis, et arcana ne scruteris Omnipotentis.
137. Versutus consulendo negotiatur.
138. Discretus esto in diluendis neophytorum defectibus.
139. Exprime conceptum cum grano salis.
140. Elephantem ex proboscide, et ex ungue leonem.
141. Utere praesentibus, et tecum habita.
142. Soli lumen ne mutues.
143. Unica hirundo non facit ver.
144. Dulce bellum inexpertis.
145. Merx ultronea putet.
146. Posterius casus providendi.
147. Piscator ictus sapit.
148. Ne sutor ultra crepidam.
149. Margaritas ante porcos ne projicias.
150. Veteris litis jurgia non refricanda.
151. Latet anguis in herba.

152. Diluculo surgere saluberrimum est.
153. Angustum annulum ne gestato.
154. Quot homines, tot sententiae.
155. Ignem gladio ne fodito.
156. Monarchia perfectissima gubernatio.
157. Auceps fistula volucrem decipit.
158. Pugil suum regressum denuo pugnando qualiter-
cunque compensabit.
159. Confestim discute obscura.
160. Bis pueri senes.
161. Cubiculo clauso precandum.
162. In aestate praesertim componite nidos.
163. Conjectura constat signis.
164. Profunda lustrare absque exemplis arduum.
165. Pictura laicorum inscitiae competit.
166. Serpens exuit pellem in sentibus.
167. Miracula assiduitate nihili fiunt.
168. Valetudinem potionibus et pharmacis deinceps cura
diligenter.
169. Ne voveas, quandiu vacillas et tremis.
170. Magus quo peritior, eo detestabilior.
171. Sannio sagax simplicem explodit.
172. Imbelli adminiculo ne sustentetur.
173. Ne observes anxius sidera.
174. Qui statim annuunt flocci penduntur.
175. Mutuo muli scalpunt.
176. Qui oppido expertus est, subterraneos dolosi cuni-
culos supplantabit.
177. Intra limites te contine.
178. Jucunda vicissitudo rerum.

179. Indumentum sit elegans, non splendidum.
180. Misereri praestat quam ulcisci.
181. In praecipiendo perspicuus sit sermo, non prolixus.
182. Conditione affabiles conformant se morosis.
183. Divitiae adultores ad se pelliciunt, adversa probant.
184. Casta matrona obtemperando imperat.
185. Lucrum cum jactura famae damnum est.
186. Currus bovem trahit.
187. Nodum in scirpo quaeris.
188. Lanistae practici de lana caprina digladiantur.
189. Sus Minervam docet.
190. Haeredis fletus, sub larva risus est.
191. Viperam in sinu fovet.
192. Anguillam cauda capessis.
193. Ex arena funes et retinacula nectis.
194. Tunica pallio propior est.
195. Idiotam mulget hircum.
196. In mari aquam indagas.
197. Sponde, noxa prope est.
198. Laterem lavas, aerem percutis.
199. Ex vagina eburnea plumbeum pugionem exemit.
200. Turdus sibi exitium egerit.

CENTURIA TERTIA.

DE TEMPERANTIA ET INTEMPERANTIA.

201. Contra extrema temperantia est severitas.
202. Natura paucis contenta.

203. Praecipuum condimentum fames.
204. Sobrietas in primis optimates decet.
205. Arcum intentio frangit, animum remissio.
206. Mulierem ornat taciturnitas.
207. Praeesse et non prodesse molestum.
208. Opes conciliant invidiam.
209. Rigor juris clementia moderandus.
210. Nimia familiaritas contemptum parit.
211. Festina lente, nam tardus velocem assequitur.
212. Temulentus sese, non merum increpet.
213. Ex rebus levissimis oruntur dissensiones.
214. Aestimationem denigrat, gulae qui indulget.
215. Frustra hortatio inter pocula.
216. Dominandi libido bestia ferocissima.
217. Ardor otiosus fit furor.
218. Medicus garrulus onerosior morbo.
219. Adulter luxuriam, non prolem expetit.
220. Prodigus provinciae labes.
221. Ne cui aerumnam suam exprobraveris.
222. Concordia nummis praeponenda.
223. Literae non erubescunt.
224. Saevi inter se non consonant.
225. Est cur paveat, quem plerique formidant.
226. Tenuis cibus est utilis, et ad contemplationem confert.
227. Alauda sua harmonia pigritiae nos arguit.
228. Hydrops et podagra genuinae sorores ingluviei.
229. Procerum pompa, ut cera calore liquescens.
230. Iteratus partus leaenae non contingit.
231. Sera in fundo parcimonia.

232. Quid pejus quam abuti opera et otio?
233. Antelucana industria et elucubratione vincunt nos
nos opifices.
234. Avarus mortalium miserrimus.
235. Amant alterna camoenae.
236. Coram grandaevis conticescere debes.
237. Cui quis ab incunabulis assuescit, id optat.
238. Coquus, etsi maxime hebes, sui ipsius recordabitur.
239. Tranquillitas placida excidium extinguit.
240. Aurum ideo carum, quia rarum.
241. Jejunium in tentatione et tribulatione clipeus.
242. Seriis fatigatus, facetiis relaxetur.
243. Sterilitas sternit semitam coelibatui.
244. Liberalis aperti sunt oculi.
245. Meditatio absque distractione, convertit planctum
in jubulum.
246. A detractione auditum cohibe.
247. Lenis commotus excoandescit paullo vehementius.
248. Animalia bruta como et freno domantur.
249. Tempus adimit maestitiam.
250. Erranti medicina confessio.
251. Musica recreat melancholicos.
252. Alimenti mensura ponderanda.
253. Ambitiosi ut hedera, fastigia insolenter ambiunt.
254. Orphanum et pupillum ne despicias.
255. Libri absque verecundia carpunt.
256. Aurora musis apta.
257. Mana e cubili ceu dama exilias.
258. Implora Altissimum, ut mundanos amputet nexus.
259. Una flare et sorbere impossibile.

260. Convivium catena deliciarum.
261. Puritas, post excidium carnis, aemula est virginitatis.
262. Candentes carbones crebro scintillant.
263. Eduliorum foecunditas secum ducit prava.
264. Factiosus odit plus quam duos.
265. Continentiae cingulo te constringas.
266. Monachus sicut passer solitarius in tecto.
267. Oliva si a capro lingatur, non germinabit.
268. Cum longaevis ne altercis, ne succenseant.
269. Diversorii rixas aequanimiter feras.
270. Nec in ipsa regia absque regula regnandum.
271. Sincerus non desciscat a vestigiis rectoris sui.
272. Venter auribus caret.
273. Crapulator a sepulcro modicum distat.
274. Obtrectatoris guttur canalis infectus.
275. Graeculus esuriens, in caelum jusseris, ibit.
276. Absentem laedit, cum ebrio qui litigat.
277. Iratus multa mentitur sibi.
278. Amor ordinem nescit.
279. Abdomen non gignit subtilem sensum.
280. Pomum e paradiso protoplastum expulit.
281. Passionibus suis acquiescere obest.
282. Epulis et scyphis enervantur athletae.
283. Fornicatio pessima lues.
284. Ex comoedia tragoedia.
285. In adversarii dispendio ne exultes.
286. Canis ad vomitum et vindictam.
287. Desipit qui superiori repugnat.
288. Superfluus imber arva plerumque subvertit.

289. Obesi minime solertes.
290. Insulsus mimus, pervicax simia.
291. Hallucinantur qui arroganter cathedras appetunt.
292. Quam innumeri hodie onagri in civitatibus com-
morantur.
293. Futilis effudit quodcumque illi in bucca est.
294. Advocatus inter clientes in praetorio vociferatur.
295. Cupiditas, conspiracyis intestinae fomentum est.
296. Zelotypi zelus a furiis immittitur.
297. Copia fastidium generat.
298. Pudeat post foedus fidem fallere.
299. Si in trutina et aequilibrio aequiparasses connubia,
non jam bigamus fores.
300. Timidus appellat se cautum, parcum sordidus.

CENTURIA QUARTA.

DE JUSTITIA ET INJUSTITIA.

301. Discite injustitiam moniti, et non temnere divos.
302. Camelus non ingreditur per foramen acus.
303. Majori cede, minori parce, trocho lude potius quam
alea.
304. Ab alio expectes quod alteri machinaris.
305. Pastoris est tondere pecudes, non deglubere.
306. Incidit in foveam quam struxit.
307. Dignum patella operculum.
308. Vultus reum prodit.
309. Principum fatuitas teterrima.
310. Non displicere specimen rectitudinis est.
312. Pauper ubique jacet.

313. *Attentare quod inhibes nefas est.*
314. *Facultates non bene comparatae, hand sunt diuturnae.*
315. *Facultatem jurisdictionis tuae ne transcendas.*
316. *Patrata maligne privatim, in propatulo erunt.*
317. *Clandestinis conjurationibus castra amplissima dissipantur.*
318. *Afflictis opitulari magnificum est.*
319. *Ad inermes defendendos protectore opus est.*
320. *Tellus culta suggerit opima sata.*
321. *Complementum legis pax est.*
322. *Episcopus in Ecclesiae apice ut carbunculus luceat.*
323. *Mansuetus sine cultro et cruciatu martyr.*
324. *Contaminati post baptismum afficiemur luctu.*
325. *Rhetor ab eo qui sibi refragatur, vel invito veritatem extorquebit.*
326. *Hypocrita germanus crocodili.*
327. *Exiguo caballo curta strigilatio.*
328. *Consciis ipse sibi, de se putat omnia dici.*
329. *Urbani summopere sycophantas aspernantur.*
330. *Parricida nefandus culeo insuendus.*
331. *Incestuosus hand unquam impune se ventitabit.*
332. *Subdolae pellicis suavius, morsus aspidis surdae.*
333. *Monile sontis capistrum jugulans.*
334. *Dissimulantis indignatio, virus pestilens est.*
335. *Qui escam respuit, et perperam vivit, est instar Diaboli.*
336. *Ex stolidi conniventia despicatus.*
337. *Eruditi velut stellae micabunt.*
338. *Communicans olla cum cacabo confringetur.*

339. Stateram ne transilias, nec diadema carpseris.
340. Aranea bufoni aconita propinat.
341. Atheus est talpa de die caecutiens.
342. Ubi disciplina claudicat, discordia jubas erigit.
343. Superborum tabernacula funditus extirpabuntur.
344. Petulans satira mordendo medetur.
345. Rationi paret, qui religionem sectatur.
346. Venerare quos antecellere conspicias.
347. Ex alieno corio largas corrigias secas.
348. Convitiis praepositum ne lacesas.
349. Antecessorum decreta amplectenda.
350. Detrimentum, cui obstandum, ne permittas.
351. Qualis vir, talis oratio.
352. Plurimum tribue antiquitati.
353. Civilis agrestes improbat et impugnat.
354. Latratus molossi furem manifestat.
355. Compatere multitudini advenarum.
356. Ubique interficere fas est, ibi etiam praedari.
357. Consanguinitas dirimit matrimonium.
358. Superstitio est idolorum servitus.
359. Fratrem cum caritate corrige.
360. Artifici compedes impinguntur sui.
361. Agricola metit quod seminavit.
362. Sicarii aversantur tribunalia.
363. Agnoscenti sua enormia, ignosce atque dimitte.
364. Futura non sunt investiganda sortilegiis.
365. Festivum concionatorem auscultamus libenter.
366. Ignominiae notam inurere prohibetur.
367. Gesticulanti scorto domum tuam praeclude, ne te
nutibus irretiat.

368. Moechus in puncto descendit ad inferos.
369. In gehenna punientur protervi.
370. Parasitus petulcus procul sit a tuo consortio.
371. Appropriquante bruma, Ciconia Septentrionem deserit.
372. Sequaci visco aves vagae illaqueantur.
373. Qui non exequitur praeceptum, cogendus est.
374. Consuetudo delinquendi offuscat intellectum.
375. Putredine, quae intrinsecus fuerit, ejecta, cicatrix obducetur.
376. Mysteria sacra exacte subeunda.
377. Perfidus Apostolus lepra corripitur.
378. Explorator fallax sibimet pedicas fabricat.
379. Idonei ad sacerdotium eligendi.
380. Non oblique de patrono censeas.
381. Presbyteris primitiae frugum et decimae consecrandae.
382. Arbitrarius expers rei querelas non examinet.
383. Abbas immodestos a coenobio exterminet.
384. Furca manticularii pulpitem.
385. Non est res abdita quae non divulgabitur.
386. Transgreditur opulentus, plectitur inops.
387. Ovem lupo strangulandum commisisti.
388. Largitio corrumpit suffragia.
389. Viduam extrudi turpe est.
390. Extorta venia violentia est.
391. Festucam in pupilla contubernalis, trabem in tua non advertis.
392. Qui foetum suum enecat, Tigride truculentior est.
393. Impudens innocuum quotidie persequitur.

394. Causidicus non meam, sed suam crumenam spectat.
395. Ut quid torques in collo amentis, et armillae?
396. Noverca conatur perimere privignum.
397. Matertera legitimorum, nothis austera.
398. Aliquando degenerat progenies a proavis.
399. Vilem efferre, est felem purpura et ostra insignire.
400. Praetextatam puellam deflorare, immane dedecus est.

CENTURIA QUINTA.

De fortitudine et imbecillitate.

401. Fortes fortuna metuit, ignavos deprimit.
402. Gaudet patientia duris.
403. Ingens telum necessitas.
404. Injuriarum remedium est oblivio.
405. Regnum sibi asciscit, qui concupiscentiam superat.
406. Infirmus in lecto decumbens, dum spirat, sperat.
407. Habet et musca splenem.
408. Formicae sua bilis inest.
409. Cessandum potius quam desperandum.
410. Exulare injuste, non castigatio, sed profugium.
411. Verus magnanimus, qui triumphum repudiat.
412. Quod decreveris, constanter urge.
413. Gutta cavat lapidem, chalybs consumitur usu.
414. Heu, quantopere singultent praevaricatores condemnati.
415. Palma pondere viget.
416. Condonando, tropaeum adeptus es.
417. Taurum tollet, qui vitulum.
418. Repentia apparent graviora.

419. Rebelles motus in potestatem redigendi.
420. Conserva victoriam quam nactus es.
421. In me cudetur ista faba.
422. Sine praesidio non se tuetur magistas.
423. Barbarus atrocitatem anhelat.
424. Desideria dilatione augentur.
425. Ut simus solliciti interdicitur, non item muniis insistere.
426. Inimicum dilige, et panem illi gratuito feras, etiamsi non flagitet.
427. Contumelias benignitatis lorica retunde.
428. Contra malevoli spicula, tolerantia praebet scutum.
429. Jacula praevisa minus feriunt.
430. Buccina strenuo audaciam adjicit.
431. Grex gruum, vel dormiens, excubias constituet.
432. Inter malleum et incudem versatur.
433. Qui perseveraverit, brabium auferet.
434. Insignia coepta longanimitate perficienda.
435. Saucii non est nosocomii taedere.
436. Capulares decrepiti paullatim delirant.
437. Inter manipulos et fasces zizaniorum est triticum.
438. Qui catus est, competitoris sui incremento non decrescit.
439. Judaei se circumcidunt, Christiani se cilicio vinciunt.
440. Alma et intermerata Virgo in angustiis patrocinator.
441. Perduellis exilio multatus, quo applicet?
442. Cum galea et umbone perdius et pernox vadit.
443. Remis et velis ad navale properat.

444. Auspicio felici vellere potitus est Graio.
445. Romphaea obtusa in congressu nequicquam
exseratur.
446. Valde munificum est liberare captivos.
447. Certamen agonis postremi est transitorium.
448. Allidit parvulos ad petram.
449. Pusillanimis ad heroica non aspirat.
450. Meticulosus umbram veretur suam.
451. Tremulus lepus plagas non perspicit.
452. Praedicator trepidus suggestum non conscendat.
453. Quomodo te consolabitur, qui propriis premitur
gemitibus?
454. Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

HYMNUS DE PASSIONE CHRISTI.

455. Coenam cum discipulis Christus celebravit,
456. Obitum Apostolis palam nuntiavit,
457. Ac auctorem sceleris simul demonstravit,
458. Et egressus protinus, hortulum intravit,
459. Atque humi procidens sese tunc prostravit,
460. Et transferri calicem a se postulavit,
461. Satoris arbitrio illud resignavit—
462. Sudor item sanguinis subito manavit.
463. Ad quid, inquit suaviter, amice appulisti?
464. Numquid osculaberis quem jam tradidisti?
465. Assistentes interim irruunt ministri.
466. Nox insomnis integra illa terebatur,
467. Nulla plane requies illi praestabatur,
468. Colaphis et alapis innocens mactatur.
469. Et tumultus populi magnus excitatur.

470. Stipatus militibus vinculis arctatur,
471. Et crudis verberibus dire laceratur,
472. Caput regis inclyti spinis coronatur,
473. Post haec flexis genibus ab his irritatur.
474. Ecce cutis tenera pii Salvatoris
475. Ad columnam rigidis flagellatur loris,
476. Derivantur rivuli undique cruoris,
477. Et per urbis compita mitis procedebat,
479. Ad fores et ostia turba confluebat,
480. Ejusque confusio singulis patebat—
481. Ad pudoris cumulum, Jesu, denudaris,
482. Ad ventum et frigora pannis spoliaris,
483. Atque cum latronibus aequus deputaris,
484. Quasi dux facinoris in medio locaris.
485. Tensis ligno brachiis artus conclavantur,
486. Atque membra trucibus chordis alligantur.
487. Nervi, venae, parili modo laniantur,
488. Pedum plantae etiam ferro penetrantur.
489. Loquens ipse postea, sitio, aiebat,
490. Et degustans paullulum, sumere nolebat
491. Acetum, quod illico felle commiscebant,
492. Et infusum spongiae ori porrigebant.
493. Vocem promens ultimam, Patrem invocavit,
494. Spiritumque manibus ejus commendavit,
495. Cum clamore valido tandem exspiravit,
496. Sic salutis gentium opus consummavit—
497. Deinde cujus valeat mens vel lingua fari
498. Quantum intus creditur Maria turbari,
499. Cum cernebat lividum latus vulnerari,
500. Atque nati viscera lancea forari?

APPENDIX DE AMBIGUIS.

DE CARITATE.

- Unio. Illustrior est unio, quae nascitur ex caritate,
Quam unio, cujus pretium oritur ex caritate.
- Offendo. Neminem, dum possis, offendas,
Et gemmam pacis offendes.
- Excido. Quod iram excitat, memoria excidat,
Ne amicitiam excidat.
- Adversarius. Expedit adversariis condonare
Eorumque memoriam ex adversariis delere.
- Missilia. Ut missilia jaculatorum corpora,
Sic missilia regum corda penetrant.
- Irrito. Qui proximum opprobriis irritat,
Caritatis legem irritat.
- Praesto. Munus praestare quam accipere praestat.
- Hospes. Hospes dives hospitem pauperem ut Christum
excipiat.
- Ansa. Ut ansa poculi sitiens
Sic ansam benefaciendi caritas arripit.

DE CONSTANTIA ET INCONSTANTIA.

- Refert. De viro probo parum refert, quid vulgus refert.
- Populus. Ut populi folia omni vento,
Sic populi linguae omni rumore hinc inde
moventur.

- Bulla. Non pluris aestimat verus sapiens
Bullam auri, quam bullam aquae.
- Censeo. In adversis auxiliantes censeas,
Ne te derelictum censeas.
- Depereo. Momentanea non depereas,
Ne in aeternum depereas.
- Differo. Benefacere nolle, et differre, parum differunt.
- Infectus. Invidiae tabe infectus, omne opus
Caritatis infectum relinquit.
- Calx. Ut calx caementarii sub calce pedis
Sic gloria mundi pondere humilitatis facile
deprimitur.
- Scrupulus. Ut scrupulus viae pedem,
Sic scrupulus conscientiae animum vexat.
- Locus. Quid proderit locus avaro
In locula jacenti?
- Obeo. Ut bene obeas, munus vitae
Bene obire necesse est.
- Valeo. Parum valet bene valere,
Et mortem instantem ignorare.

DE JUSTITIA ET INJUSTITIA.

- Cecidit. Si Angelum, qui primo cecidit, tam severe cecidit
justitia divina, quis non timebit?
- Plaga. In quavis plaga mundi, plagae Crucifixi plagas
Diaboli dissolvunt.
- Pango. Quomodo panget laudes Deo
Qui peccando pangit foedus cum inferno?

- Pendo. Qui nihil pendit malum culpae,
Aequum est, ut pendat debitum poenae.
- Piaculum. Pro piaculis commissis, piaculum propitiatorium offerendum.
- Tessera. Qui belli caelestis tesseram gerit, a ludo tessararum sese cohibeat.
- Conduco. Parum conducit, inter primos ad vineam conducui, et cum novissimis in fine excludi.
- Loco. Stultum est magis curare domos locandas aliis, quam sepulcrum in quo locandus es ipse.
- Jus. Sicut jus palato, sic jus justo arridet.
- Animadverto. In eum qui legem sua culpa non animadvertit, aequum est ut legislator animadvertat.
- Carpo. Spinās maledictionis carpet
Qui innocuos inique carpit.
- Libo. Qui poenitentiae dulcedinem libat,
Sacrificium pro peccatis libat.
- Facultas. Ad facultates juste comparandas,
Omnibus concessa est facultas.

DE SENTENTIIS CONSOLATORIIS.

- Fides. Ut fides lyrae animum recreant,
Sic fides justī illum consolatur.
- Liberi. Omnis pater suos liberos a servitute liberos esse cupit.
- Testudo. Testudo resonans in testudine templi, vel ipsas testudines ad alacritatem excitat.

DE DEO.

- Cerno. Semper Deum praesentem cernas,
Ut te in iudicio a reprobis cernat.
- Arguo. Frustra de speculativis subtiliter arguit quem
Deus de scientia inflante arguit.
- Colo. Qui terram colit, et Deum non colit, frustra laborat.
- Opus. Ut opus sit bonum, opus est
ut a summo bono sit participatum.
- Appello. A iudice, quem summum appellamus, nemo
appellare potest.
- Sapio. Stultum sapit, qui sal non sapit, quod omnia sapit,
quo vere sapiat.

DE SOLERTIA ET OTIO.

- Appeto. Appete operari, appetit enim nox quando nemo
operari potest.
- Fucus. Ut fucus ignavus in examine apum
- Examen. Sic fucus peccati examine conscientiae dignos-
citur.
- Lego. Quid proderit libros plures legere illis, qui fructum
nunquam legere?
- Puto. Dum ramum infructuosum ab arbore putas, ne te
dissimilem esse putes.
- Cuniculus. Ut cuniculi ad suam tutelam, ita milites ad
inimicorum subversionem in cuniculis actis
degunt.
- Cuneus. Ut cuneis ligneis trabes finditur, sic cuneis
Angelorum legiones Daemonum dissipantur.

DE MALIS.

Malum. Dum malum comedis juxta malum navis, de malo commissio sub malo vetito meditare.

Comparo. Qui se melioribus comparat, sibi infamiam comparat.

Conditus. Si sal est conditus, ut quod eo est conditum sapiat, vae sali insulso.

Edo. Qui librum perniciosum edendum promovet, sibi cibum in inferno edendum praeparat.

Livor. Crudelis est livor, qui vulnere livore gaudet.

Nepos. Minus est dedecus nepotibus carere quam eosdem intemperantes nepotes videre.

Secundus. Secundae superbi fortunae, secundus locus non sufficit.

Esse. Minor est poena jejunum esse, quam supra modum cibum esse.

Expendo. Imprudentis est thesaurum expendere, antequam lucrum expendat.

Lustrum. Veniet lustris labentibus poena scelerato, qui lustris gaudet.

Regulus. Regulus sine regula regnans est regulus venena diffundens.

Oppido. Oppido conducit omni oppido gubernator, boni communis amicus.

